

9

**Career Ladders and Work Pathways:
Organizational Shifts Toward Job-Placement Programs in Boston**

by

**Dulcy Anderson
AB in Women's Studies
Harvard College
Cambridge, MA (1992)**

**Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of**

Master in City Planning

at the

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

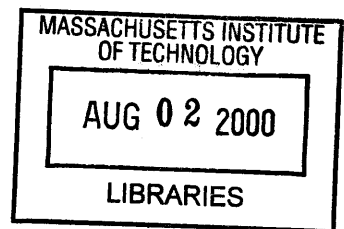
June 2000

© Copyright 1999 Dulcy Anderson

All Rights Reserved

**The author hereby grants to MIT permission to reproduce and to distribute
publicly paper and electronic copies of this thesis in whole or in part.**

ROTCH



Author: _____
Department of Urban Studies and Planning

May 16, 2000

Certified by: _____
Professor Martin Rein
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by: _____
Associate Professor Paul Smoke
Chair, MCP Committee
Department of Urban Studies and Planning

**Career Ladders and Work Pathways:
Organizational Shifts Toward Job-Placement Programs in Boston**

by

Dulcy Anderson

**Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning on May 18, 2000 in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master in City Planning**

ABSTRACT

Federal welfare-to-work legislation (the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of 1996 and related federal grants) and the anticipation of the consolidation of job training programs through the Workforce Investment Act of 1998 have created new relationships amongst local government, for-profit and non-profit sectors. Related shifts toward work-oriented programs in public housing (through the Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act of 1998) and facilitation of work for those with disabilities (through the Ticket to Work and Work Incentives Improvement Act of 1999) are also involved in this transition. Together, the new public/private mix is expanding “job readiness” services, childcare, private-sector involvement in training of the low-wage labor force, and coordination of welfare, unemployment and re-employment initiatives. The reconfiguration also seems to be fundamentally blurring the boundaries between traditionally male-based job training and unemployment insurance and traditionally female-based aid for families and related services. In addition to a blurring of the boundaries between male and female systems of aid, there seems at times to be an implicit recognition of the blurred boundaries between the working-poor and welfare recipients.

This paper explores the work of several organizations in Boston that have received Department of Labor (F/S) Welfare-to-Work grants. While the Welfare-to-Work grants are a time-limited source of funding (established in 1998 and scheduled to end in FY2001), they have served as a catalyst for organizational changes in ways that seem likely to be lasting and they seem to be paradigmatic of the sort of incentives and programs that are coming out of combined Health and Human Services and Department of Labor programming that seek to employ “hard-to-place” populations. By considering organizations that have received this funding and their relationships to city and state agencies, the for-profit sector, and other organizations in the not-for-profit sector, this paper creates a “map” of some of the important public and private institutions involved in the welfare-to-work transition in Boston. It also suggests the impacts of legislative changes on the evolving trajectories of individual organizations.

**Thesis Supervisor: Martin Rein
Title: Professor of Urban Studies and Planning**

Acknowledgements

My thanks to those involved in Welfare-to-Work programs who took time from their busy schedules to speak with me: Nancy Ahmidafar, Mary Culhane, Alice Delgado, Donna Dupee, Janet McGill, Elsa Guterrez, Joanne Pokaski, Adam Sass, Neil Silverston, Dan Singleton, Wyvonne Stevens, and Elizabeth Zarella.

Many thanks also to Professor Sam Bass Warner.

SECTION ONE: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

Recent fundamental changes to federal welfare and job training policy will transform private companies, local government agencies, and nonprofit service organizations because the legislation emphasizes public/private partnerships and devolution to local control. These organizational changes in turn will be central to the eventual success or failure of these reforms. This is a large shift in mission on the part of public institutions and not-for-profit organizations toward provision of work-related services and employment brokering. In the course of this transition, the reconfiguration of programs seems to be fundamentally blurring the boundaries between traditionally male-based job training and unemployment insurance and traditionally female-based aid for families and related services. Policies and programs reflect varying degrees of awareness about the connections between transportation, housing, and childcare and effective encouragement of female low-wage labor market participation. Nonetheless, there is generally some acknowledgement of the connections. In addition to a blurring of the boundaries between male and female systems of aid, there seems at times to be an implicit recognition of the blurred boundaries between the working-poor and welfare recipients.

To better understand this policy-climate transition, I have focused on the city of Boston and the work of several organizations in Boston that have received Department of Labor (F/S) Welfare-to-Work grants. While the Welfare-to-Work grants are a time-limited source of funding (established in 1998 and scheduled to end in FY2001), they have served as a catalyst for organizational changes in ways that seem likely to be lasting and they seem to be paradigmatic of the sort of incentives and programs that are coming

out of combined Health and Human Services and Department of Labor programming that seek to employ “hard-to-place” populations. By considering organizations that have received this funding and their relationships to city and state agencies, the for-profit sector, and other organizations in the not-for-profit sector, I hope to create a “map” of some of the important public and private institutions involved in the welfare-to-work transition in Boston. With that map, I hope to trace the impacts of legislative changes on the evolving trajectories of individual organizations. I will argue that federal welfare-to-work legislation (the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of 1996 and related federal grants) and the anticipation of the consolidation of job training programs through the Workforce Investment Act of 1998 has created new relationships amongst local government, for-profit and non-profit sectors. Related shifts toward work-oriented programs in public housing (through the Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act of 1998) and facilitation of work for those with disabilities (through the Ticket to Work and Work Incentives Improvement Act of 1999) are also likely to figure in this transition. Together, the new public/private mix is attempting to expand “job readiness” services, job training programs, childcare, private-sector involvement in training of the low-wage labor force, and coordination of welfare, unemployment and re-employment initiatives.

Movements in the work and caregiving sectors are predictable, given these policies. These legislative changes cause shifts toward provision of job placement and employment services, as well as shifts in power among various government entities and shifts in relationships among private, public, and not-for-profit entities. In a complement to the shifts in the work sector, there are also impacts in the caregiving sector: childcare, healthcare, and eldercare. These are both supplied and demanded by low-wage women

workers. One of the provisions of the federal welfare reform legislation requires that childcare must be available for work requirements to be enforced. Caregiving organizations as employers, particularly in the city of Boston where the healthcare industry is vital to the economy, are fundamentally implicated in any discussion of self-sufficiency and living wages. Service sector work, including human services, is the primary venue for employment for many formerly receiving welfare funds and also for many immigrants and other working-poor people who are likely to fall outside of the unemployment/social security safety net and for whom economic self-sufficiency and job security are similarly difficult to achieve.

Forces impacting organizations

“Of course the money was there so we [the nonprofit service provider] went after it. Sometimes I wish we would all just disappear and all of these people would get the money to go to school before they got a job.”--Supervisor of a welfare-to-work program.

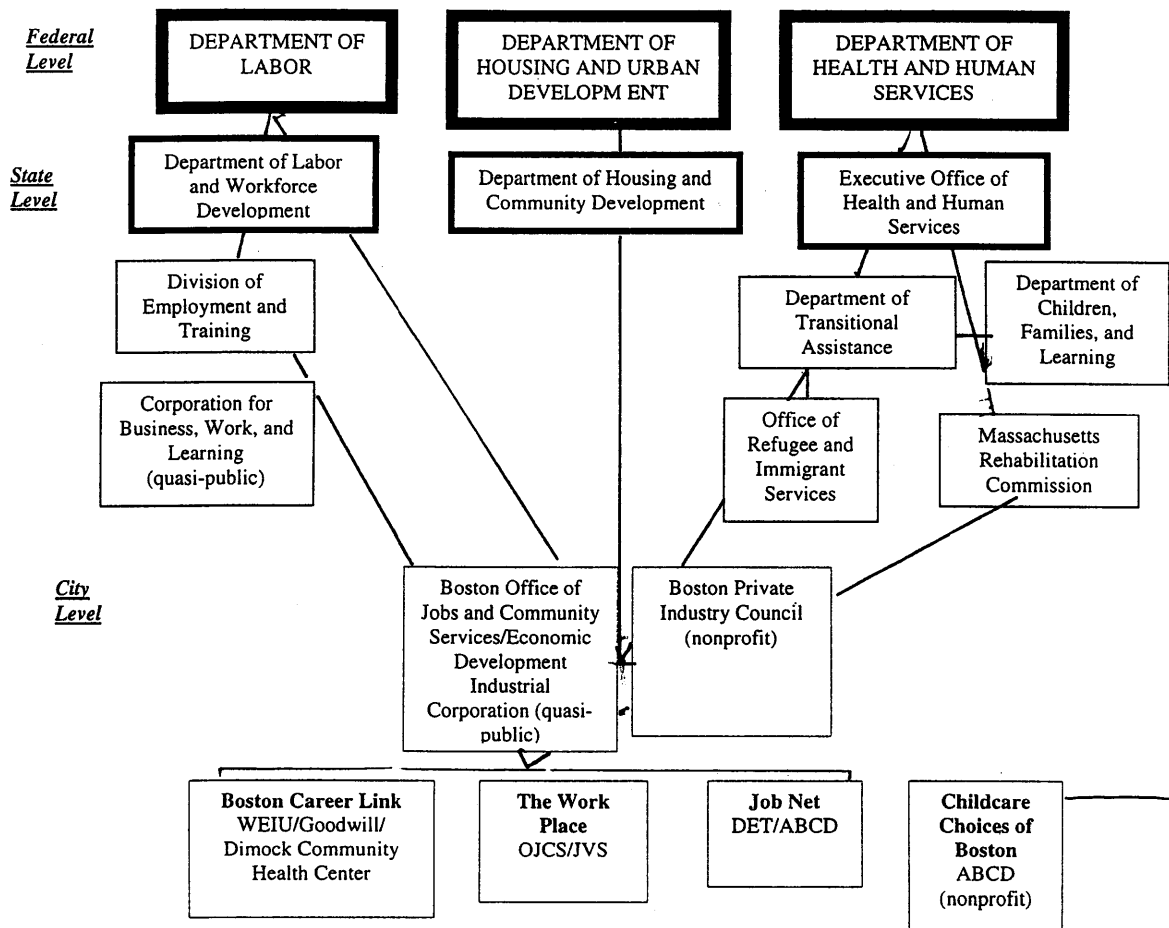
I have identified the following funding streams available for job-training/placement services. I have not included in this list the funds that come through school-to-work, more traditional adult education funding (which is unusually generous in Massachusetts), or private donors and I am not yet confident that it is comprehensive, but it does map out a number of the important sources for the purposes of the following discussion. Where it has not been possible to find an exact number for the amount of funding from the state level that is targeted specifically at the Boston area, I have made an estimate based on population alone; Boston held approximately 10% of the entire state population as of 1998 state estimates (the greater metropolitan area constitutes one-half of the state population, but for the purposes of funding, the municipal boundaries are the binding limit). This estimate is very likely to be conservative, as Boston has a higher

concentration of low-income, disabled, TANF-receiving, unemployed than does the state as a whole; thus, it is likely to receive more than its share of funding in support of such populations. When I have used this rough method of estimation, I have indicated this with an asterisk in the table below.

Federal Source	Grant	Recipient(s)	Size	Estimated to City of Boston	Percentage of identified sources
Department of Labor	Welfare-to-Work (2-year program with extension--likely to be replaced by "Fathers work/families win")	Department of Labor and Workforce Development: 85% then to SDAs/15% to "Governor's Discretion" Boston SDA: PIC/OJCS	FY 1999: \$19 million with \$9 million state match statewide: \$5,450,000 for Boston SDA	\$5,450,000	4%
Department of Labor	Welfare-to-Work (2-year program) Competitive (Likely to be replaced by "Fathers Work/Families Win")	Directly to grantee organizations: for-profit, not-for-profit, or government	FY 1999-2000 Boston SDA recipients: \$4 million to Metro Boston Planning Council \$3 million to Goodwill/ABCD collaboration \$1 million to Boston Technology Venture Center \$4 million to Jewish Vocational Services \$1.5 million to Goodwill	\$13,500,000	9%
Department of Labor	WIA title I: Adult & Displaced Worker (formerly JTPA)	85% directly to SDA (PIC& OJCS) /15% to State.	FY2001 Fed to State: \$39,000,000	\$3,900,000*	3%
Department of Labor	Competitive Demonstration Grants: Career Ladders	This grant to the collaborative to develop a demonstration "health care cluster" career ladders project.	\$1,000,000 received by Partners Health Care System, Benjamin Health Care, Massachusetts Extended Care Federation, Harvard Vanguard Medical Associates, SEIU Local 285, Bunker Hill Community College,	\$1,000,000	1%

			Roxbury Community College, and the Corporation for Business, Work and Learning.		
Department of Labor	WIA: Wagner Peyser (employment centers)	State Dept of Labor	FY 2000 Fed to State \$15,000,000 State \$2,000,000	\$1,700,000*	1%
Department of Education, Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services	WIA Title IV: Rehabilitation Act	State, to Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission	FY 2000 State: \$85,000,000 (estimated, state and fed combined)	\$8,500,000 for * vocational rehabilitation	6%
Department of Housing and Urban Development	Community Development Block Grants	To the City of Boston, BRA/DND	FY2000: Fed to City \$25,000,000 (Generally allotted to physical capital programs, but 15% can be given to job training/human capital initiatives.)	\$3,750,000	3%
Department of Housing and Urban Development	Moving to Work Demonstration Grants	To DHCD	Part of stipend for participants may be used for transportation, childcare, training.	\$1,000,000	1%
Department of Housing and Urban Development	Empowerment Zone (1999)	To City of Boston: OJCS/BRA	EZ: \$100,000,000 in Social Services Block Grant	\$50,000,000 for job* training	35%
Department of Health and Human Services	Temporary Assistance for Needy Families	Department of Transitional Assistance, State.	FY2000 \$54,000,000 to Employment Services	\$54,000,000 for employment services	37%
Department of Health and Human Services	Childcare Block Grants	State Department of Children, Families, and Learning	FY2000: \$300,000,000	\$30,000,000 *	N/A (not job training)
Department of Revenue	Work Opportunity Tax Credit	For-profit corporations	N/A	N/A	N/A
STATE ONLY	Worker Education Fund	State DET with consultation of PICs gives funds directly to companies/nonprofits	\$18,000,000 annually	\$1,800,000*	1%

Diagram of Funding Streams/Government and Quasi-Governmental Sources



In the course of the welfare reform transition, AFDC (now TANF) funds (F/S) that otherwise would have been used for direct transfer payments to very low-income families have been channeled to state and local government and often to private intermediaries, for-profit and not-for-profit, to provide services that are to help welfare recipients achieve employment, job stability, and self-sufficiency. In Massachusetts, as in many states, the transition has been faster than Congress had anticipated. Thus, between the mandated state Maintenance of Effort (MOE) funds and TANF funds pile up an embarrassment of riches for disposal by, in the case of Massachusetts, the Department of Transitional Assistance (DTA)(S). While some of this money is set aside in a welfare-specific “rainy day” fund, some set aside for “emergency assistance” that is available for short term direct aid, and millions transferred in the state budgeting process to the newly established Department of Children, Families, and Learning (S), there is still a large pool of funds available for any number of uses and interagency contracts. (In the chart above, I have represented only the \$54,000,000 which is designated specifically for Employment Services in the DTA budget. While it represents 37% of job placement funds that are available in the Boston area, this represents only 6% of total funds in the DTA budget and does not include discretionary transfers to individual organizations.) This creates a dynamic in which the DTA(S), TANF funds (F/S), carried onward by the ideology of “work first” become a catalyzing force in the operation of other state and local government departments and programs as well as shaping contracting non-governmental organizations. These effects are intensified by the bounty of other federal funds also available or soon forthcoming to provide programs and services for people on or transitioning from welfare support, particularly as the five-year time limit for cut-off of

direct payments approaches. Notably, these include Welfare-to-Work funds from the Department of Labor (F) targeting those who are considered hardest to employ, the Department of Housing and Urban Development's (F) various programs for residents of public housing¹ and Department of Health and Human Services Grants. HUD offers funding for local housing developments to develop programmatic interventions, including case management, economic development, and community organizing. Empowerment Zone funding through HUD was recently received by the City of Boston as well, which makes available \$100,000,000 in Social Services Block grant funds for job training and related initiatives. The Department of Health and Human Services (F), in addition to the TANF funds, dispenses Childcare Block Grants and Job Opportunities for Low-Income Individuals (JOLI) grants (crossing over into what is more usually Department of Labor territory by supporting job-creation that targets those who are sufficiently low-income that they would generally qualify for welfare). These funding streams (Welfare-to-Work, various HUD grants, JOLI, Childcare) function as grant-allocation systems or vouchers, setting criteria, but requiring Local Housing Authorities, childcare providers, non-governmental organizations, and businesses to compete for funds and to plan, staff, and execute programs. The future seems to hold more of the same. While Welfare-to-Work funding is time-limited, funding for similar programs targeted at men rather than women will be rolled out; in her FY2001 proposed budget, Alexis Herman has requested funding instead for a similar "Demonstration Grant" initiative for indigent fathers, entitled "Fathers Work, Families Win."²

In addition to welfare-reform-related grants, which have been introduced on a rolling basis since 1995 in Massachusetts, the Workforce Investment Act of 1998 (F) will

replace the Job Training Partnership Act of 1982 (F) and coordinate 60 other federal grants for vocational programming with three block grants to states administered through the Department of Labor (Adult, Youth, and Displaced Worker Training) as of July, 2000. This legislation was characterized as a “GI Bill” for workers when it was first proposed by President Clinton on the campaign trail in 1992, creating a sweeping scheme for job training that is to impact all American workers. The WIA mandates will consolidate planning and worker access to the large pool of funds that is targeted at job training and skills upgrading. While at present, this is a process of consolidation and coordination rather than a new source of funding (actual WIA funds are approximately equivalent to the previous JTPA funds), it nonetheless seems to have a large footprint in the organizational universe, offering expanded opportunities for organizations to access the funding through the coordinated voucher system. It also seems to present an opportunity for future expansion, since in order to meet the program mandate of truly reaching workers across the economic spectrum. Mandated state WIA plans must include some form of the following initiatives: workforce investment boards on the state and local levels with representatives of industry and key state and local agency representatives that will plan for allocation of state vocational/training funds; requirements for a multitude of Career Centers with industry information and job postings as well as opportunities for training (an amendment of the Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933 which required free employment offices); “individual training accounts” entitling individuals to pay for job training or counseling with authorized agencies through an electronic voucher system; and a requirement for states to hold 25% of displaced worker funding in reserves for worker training in case of sudden economic shifts. In

conjunction with the WIA emphasis on universal reemployment, the Department of Labor has sponsored “Career Ladders” pilot Demonstration grants in FY2000 which have been slated for an increase in the budget in FY2001 and the Department of Labor will be creating a new Office to facilitate work for the disabled under WIA, following upon the above-mentioned 1999 legislation that allowed the disabled to work while keeping government health benefits and provided training vouchers for them as well.

The impact of the implementation of the WIA on state and local systems is yet to be determined, but it seems clear that at very least, it will produce a greater demand for services on the part of organizations promising to provide assistance to individuals in achieving employment, changing jobs, or acquiring additional skills. Like the PRWORA/welfare system, the WIA system emphasizes “work first.” This means allowing training account funds to be utilized for more extensive training or counseling programs only after an attempt has been made through preliminary “core” services to place the individual in a job. The voucher system, an alternative to grants that pay for programs “up front,” introduces yet another important parameter for organizations choosing to participate in this funding stream; service providers will need to simulate a fee-for-service system, marketing their programs, competing for customers, and requesting fees for services that will be reimbursed by a third-party-payer³. Funds will be attached to individuals, rather than to programs.

Implicit in the argument above is its organizational thrust. Despite the emphasis on devolution of control to local systems, funding that comes in millions of dollars to states and cities, most particularly if it is not to be used as direct transfer payments, but rather for programming of one sort or another, will serve as a catalyst for combination

and recombination of existing organizations and program structures. To allocate funds for income transfers to states is one thing, but to give states and local governments funds and incentives to try to facilitate full employment is quite another. If there is a good deal of money at stake, many organizations will react in ways that allow them to access this funding stream, thereby shifting the balance of power among organizations and governmental entities. Even those outside of the direct stream of funding will feel the impacts of the consequent reconfiguration. Structuring government programs like private sector or foundation funding, with voucher systems or competition for grants, perhaps particularly exacerbates this tendency, even as it accomplishes the worthy goal of providing opportunities for experimentation. There is also a price to be paid (in administrative, marketing, and monitoring costs) for local control, public/private collaborations, and the proliferation of programs. While the effects of changing funding opportunities on the behavior of organizations are difficult to document in these early stages, and are so far acknowledged by those involved only indirectly or obliquely, it is likely to be one of the most important aspects of the transition at hand.

Given this set of programs and incentives that revolve around facilitating employment, the private sector is deeply implicated, directly and indirectly. While it is perhaps even more difficult to gather information about strategic decisions that are impacted by funding opportunities in the private sector, it is surely important to include this sector in any description of the impact of welfare-to-work funding on organizations. In the workforce training market, private companies are allowed to directly compete for many sources of government funds, encouraged to “partner” with nonprofits to access funds for their workers, and encouraged to hire welfare recipients by way of “work

opportunity” tax credits. Private companies also benefit from supports that are available from the state and city to their workforce or potential workers, be they childcare and transportation subsidies, education and training programs, or direct wage supplements like the Earned Income Tax Credit (F). Of course the absence of a non-work-based safety net should also directly affect the supply of workers and the wages that they can command in the low-wage labor market. At present the tight labor market obscures these consequences. While I will not address this issue fully, it is striking that welfare-to-work efforts and career ladders programs in Boston focus on healthcare, finance, childcare, and hospitality industries. Thereby they bring these low-wage workers into jobs in industry sectors that are very much in the thick of major economic shifts and consolidations and/or major shifts in the role of private companies in caregiving industries.

Similarly, engaging with government funded workforce training and support systems is one among an array of strategies that these healthcare and other companies (some formally not-for-profit, but bottom-line oriented nonetheless) deploy in attempting to find the most cost-effective methods of finding and retaining low-wage service employees. Between workers and these service companies there now stand an astounding array of employment intermediaries, in response both to changes in technology and in employment configuration. These intermediaries range from neighborhood-based agencies channeling workers to companies through welfare-to-work agreements to on-line job listings to temporary employment agencies to company-wide job hotlines that encompass a national network of co-owned but separate holdings. These gatekeepers constitute an important aspect of the environment in which welfare-to-work and workforce training programs operate.

To further complicate this narrative about shifting roles and responsibilities, the boundaries among sectors (for-profit/not-for-profit, government/private sector) facilitating the welfare-to-work transition and engaging in worker training and retraining are not at all clear. The trade group for nonprofits and foundations, which calls itself “The Independent Sector,” has recently published a report entitled: “Changing Roles, Changing Relationships: The New Challenge for Business, Nonprofit Organizations, and Government.” The publication was, of course, co-sponsored by a cadre of organizations representing various sub-organizations (the Conference Board, the Council on Foundations, the National Academy of Public Administration, the National Alliance of Business, and the National Governors’ Association). The plethora of organizations involved in welfare-to-work in Boston definitely seems to embody the trends which this report articulates: “In the 1990s businesses have been seeking new markets in social arenas once thought the exclusive purview of government and nonprofit organizations...Nonprofits are engaging in for-profit initiatives, with increasing entrepreneurship and attention to branding, and they are more inclined to seek strategic alliances with other nonprofits, as well as with business and government” while Government plays a “convening role.” Indeed, while not-for-profit involvement evokes images of grassroots connections and sympathetic service provision (which indeed may often be the case), not-for-profit status alone is not a clear signal of organizational mission and ethos in this environment. Nonprofits are concerned with increasing their profitability, diversifying funding bases, and achieving economies of scale and scope. They are deliberately set up by government grant/contract systems to compete for clients and for program funds, with the intention to give clients greater range of choice among

programs. Thus, programs are involved in marketing and other promotional activity. While this is not necessarily an evil, it does impact the operation of these organizations in ways that may or may not be to the benefit of the public that they serve. Meanwhile, needing to access and retain an entry-level workforce in a tight labor market, private for-profit companies may offer supported work opportunities to people with disabilities, low literacy levels and other barriers to employment or create very progressive-seeming benefit structures. Partnerships between nonprofits and businesses, quasi-governmental entities, government entities that outsource their functions, nonprofits that do fee-for-service work for corporations, grant-seeking for-profits, and huge hospital conglomerates that function like businesses but have nonprofit status make it impossible to easily distinguish mission and mode of operation from public/private and for-profit/not-for-profit status.

II. Acknowledgement of need for supports, recombination of male/female social insurance systems, and acknowledgement of continuities between welfare recipients and working poor

The way that TANF(F) and Childcare Block Grants(F) and WIA(F) provisions structure funding could have positive impacts. In the TANF and childcare block grant structure, there is an implicit recognition of the need for an array of supports, including childcare, be it institutional or at home, in order to achieve “successful” and continuous employment for many workers. Transportation and childcare assistance as well as other forms of non-cash aid are not time-limited under federal mandate and can be continued after employment. (For Massachusetts aid recipients, these supports are available for one year after employment, with subsidized childcare available on a “space available” basis

after the first year.) In the flexibility of these programs in offering support for the working poor as well as to those who have actually received AFDC/TANF funds, and in the crossover between Department of Labor and Health and Human Services funding, there seems to be a refreshing acknowledgment of the continuum between the working poor and those on welfare, between unemployment recipients and welfare recipients. Similarly, public housing in the U.S. has generally been deemed a failure on many counts, but recent innovations related to the welfare transition have been quite successful,⁴ devolving more responsibility to local housing authorities and allowing them to apply for dispensation to utilize HUD funds for economic development strategies: case management, employment assistance and training, financial literacy training, supplemented savings accounts, assistance with transportation, tenant council building, and childcare supports. This acknowledgment of the spectrum of issues that make it difficult for very low income people (particularly households headed by women) to survive on wages for low-wage work alone has produced positive preliminary results.⁵ In the Massachusetts context, some of the largest not-for-profit housing developers (including The Community Builders and the YWCA as well as the Metropolitan Boston Housing Partnership, which is a quasi-public entity) have taken on this viewpoint as well. Here economic development, affordable housing, and “women’s issues” such as childcare and informal neighborhood caregiving networks, are considered as pieces of the same puzzle. Most importantly, they allow people to maximize their welfare in all of these areas rather than choosing one as the solution to all social ills. Similarly, emergency shelter-oriented organizations, such as the battered women’s shelters and the Pine Street Inn, have combined shelter with job finding/employment/economic literacy programs.

Thus, though one may reasonably fear whether or not these families will get what they need due to the shift away from direct aid and toward promotion of work-oriented solutions, yet there is also the potential for integration of systems of addressing employment, shelter, and caregiving issues in ways that may be extremely helpful to individuals with multiple pressing needs.⁶

Clearly, the WIA and its emphasis on the importance of continuous investment in human capital, improving worker skills and offering training for the sake both of individuals and of the economies to which they contribute could be very beneficial to many people. In this context, the provisions for local control are very important because they create a potentially effective way for state and local government to encourage the private sector in the development of competitive local businesses by way of “high road” strategies promoting worker education and productivity rather than solely the “low road” of wage competition. In a “flip side” to the PRWORA’s destabilization of income support for women without extensive formal work histories, it is interesting to find embedded within the WIA what is almost an embellishment of the unemployment insurance system for incumbent workers (prototypically male) through training and retraining entitlements. Its provision seems to rest on the hope/promise that advances in information technology will prove effective in buffering workers and businesses from downturns by giving them sufficient information to respond quickly to ongoing changes, effectively regulating the economy “from the bottom up.” Assistance to businesses and workers alike through access to economic data, trends, and forecasts are foregrounded in the legislation as well as continuous skill upgrading for all workers and retraining for those experiencing loss of jobs due to shifts in the economy. One Stop Career Centers in

every community are to serve as sources of referral for employers and hubs of information and referral for workers both to job opportunities and training/educational opportunities, assisting workers in continuous adaptation to a changing economy throughout the course of a lifetime. The hope of facilitating swift reemployment for the unemployed and offering universal access to (limited) training benefits is perhaps also another way of reaching the increasing number of workers who fall outside of the unemployment safety net by virtue of holding part time or temporary jobs.⁷ For those workers who are employed, there are also grants available for employers or collaboratives of employers to create pathways for advancement through “Career Ladders” training.

In an interesting addendum to this plan in Massachusetts, as of 1999, unemployment insurance rates were cut in exchange for required employer contributions to a Worker Education Fund.⁸ This fund is also to be used for training and technical assistance grants that facilitate skills upgrading for small and medium-sized businesses, which must be able to argue that they would not otherwise be able to train their workers.⁹ While this is not identical to the Federal programs, it seems to follow upon a rather similar line of reasoning, again creating a connection (tradeoff in this case) between unemployment insurance and training/skills upgrading, and demonstrating the desire to foster a system of skills-based employment security actualized by private sector employers. While some have voiced concerns about such a trade-off, labor unions, recipients of funds and involved in workforce investment boards by mandate, have been very much in favor of these programs. In the absence of reforms that would give more workers access to benefits and higher wages, one can hope that access to both training

and easy routes to other jobs will allow them to better bargain for this access. One may also hope that the coordination of “women’s” welfare-related job programs and “men’s” job training programs proceeds consciously and carefully, so that as/if incentive funding for welfare-related programming tapers off, the interests of women and very low-wage workers continue to be represented by the evolving system.

SECTION TWO: MASSACHUSETTS AND BOSTON

ORGANIZATIONAL SHIFTS

The purpose of this section of the paper is to focus on organizations involved in the shift to welfare-related job training programs in the Boston area, particularly the Welfare-to-Work Department of Labor grantees. However, in order to adequately describe these organizations, it is necessary to sketch the environment in which they function. The economic climate and recent state governmental structure changes are both directly relevant.

Massachusetts Climate/Institutions and Previous Legislation

The economic climate in Massachusetts, as in the rest of the U.S. at present, is very positive, but/and the job market is very tight. Unemployment in Massachusetts reached 2.9 percent (compared to 4.0 percent nationwide) in January 2000, and in Boston's "Service Delivery Area"¹⁰ was only 3.5 percent (as of March, 2000)¹¹ Overall, welfare rolls in Massachusetts have been reduced by 56% as of February, 2000 (benchmarked against January 1994), for a current population of approximately 45,000 families receiving direct grant assistance through the TANF program¹².

Boston is strongly influenced by the course that the State government has taken in addressing issues of employment, job-creation, economic development, and welfare reform. Massachusetts is one of the states that was on the "forefront" of the welfare reform movement throughout the 1980s and 1990s. As early as 1986, Massachusetts was

one of “eleven states [that] had made substantial progress in the area of work-welfare by developing comprehensive employment and training initiatives for welfare recipients.”¹³ The “ET Choices” program that Massachusetts developed at that time included employment supports and childcare and was hailed as quite innovative, suggesting non-punitive work-based models for welfare reform. Massachusetts was also an early innovator in the latest and most comprehensive round of welfare reforms in the mid-1990s.

On the eve of the passage of the PRWORA legislation in 1995, with a very proactive welfare reform-oriented Governor (Republican William Weld) at the helm, the state was given a waiver from the Department of Health and Human Services to implement its proposal for a state welfare-to-work system. (This was one of several reforms pertinent to the low-wage labor force that the state implemented at the time; similarly, tax reforms were implemented to signal a more “business-friendly” climate, including a dramatic decrease in the workers’ compensation insurance system¹⁴.) Despite the drift toward more socially conservative policies at the time, compromises between the moderate Republican Governor and the very Democratic state legislature created a welfare-reform plan that had many continuities with the previous legacy of social supports and comparatively generous provisions. This included unusually high funding for childcare (benchmarked against other state plans) and use of a separately budgeted pool of childcare funds for vouchers for the working-poor non-welfare-recipients, work-requirement exemptions for single parents with children under six as opposed to two under PRWORA standard regulations¹⁵, and state funding for benefits for legal non-citizens. While some of these provisions continue to be under debate in the current

Massachusetts political climate (Governor Cellucci is very interested in changing the work requirement to include those with children 2-6 years old), the state continues to have a relatively progressive set of regulations and uses for funds.

State Government Departments

The welfare shift and the job-training transition of WIA have created several important administrative reorganizations in the past few years at the state level. Essentially, the DTA is one center of gravity and the Department of Labor and Workforce Development the other within this system. The separation of childcare functions into its own department is also significant. The Office of Child Care Services was established in 1997 (it changed names this year to the “Office of Children, Families, and Learning”) and the Department of Labor and Workforce Development established in 1998. There had not previously been a separate office for childcare (this had been handled through the DTA), while the Department of Labor was one of a plethora of other departments. The Department of Labor and Workforce Development is now an umbrella consolidating: the Division of Employment and Training, One Stop Career Centers, School-to-Work programs, the Corporation for Business Work and Learning (a quasi-public agency that administers funds from Department of Commerce Economic Adjustment(F) and similar Department of Labor funding for NAFTA/trade shifts(F), including a revolving loan fund for businesses and retraining programs for displaced workers), the MASSJobs Council (and its successor under WIA)¹⁶, JTPA/WIA administration, and vocational and veterans employment programs. And, of course, the

Department of Transitional Assistance (DTA) is a behemoth at the center of the welfare-to-work funding system.

It would seem that the implementation of WIA will only shift more power toward the Department of Labor and Workforce Development's group of agencies, as it will require related programs that do not fall under its jurisdiction, such as adult education, housing and community development, and disability-related job training programs ("mandated partners"), to coordinate their resources through the One Stop Career Center system, to contribute financially to the Career Centers. It also gives them incentives to cooperate in submitting joint planning and financial documents to the federal government. WIA will require unemployment and training resources/statistics to be coordinated, which is reflected in the changed boundaries between departments. What was formerly the Department of Employment and Training (the DET) is now a "division" within the Labor and Employment Department rather than a freestanding department, consolidating a block of federal funds and programs related to unemployment/reemployment services.¹⁷ The DET, managing federal and state unemployment insurance funds, has a comparable budget to the DTA (over \$800 million, although most of it is kept in trust).

The State Department of Children, Families, and Learning is a new, large department, funded largely by federal Childcare Block Grants, state matching funds, and transfers from the TANF funds. It has a budget comparable to that of the State Department of Housing and Community Development (approximately \$300 million) and was established in order to coordinate childcare resources for "low-income working families and their children," a mission which, judging from the change in the name of the

Department seems to be expanding to encompass other areas as well. In FY2000, funding for childcare vouchers was increased significantly in the Governors budget, both through increased state funding and through earmarking of an increased percentage of TANF block grant funds for childcare purposes (Massachusetts was already one of several states reallocating 20% or more of its TANF funds to Child Care Block Grants)¹⁸. While adequate childcare for workers in retail and healthcare jobs that necessarily require shiftwork is in very short supply, and there is a very long waiting list for childcare slots/vouchers that are for low-income working families not receiving TANF, the Massachusetts system is apparently unusually good in general. The current provision system was designed from the outset by a private consulting company (Coopers and Lybrand was commissioned in 1998 to produce a study of the previous systems of subsidies for childcare and to recommend a structure) and gives state government a coordination function, while private providers run various aspects of the referral and information system as well as the actual childcare provision. Family service providers, for-profit-service providers, and non-profit service providers were then solicited to compete both for subsidized slots and for contracts to run one of the thirteen district child care coordination, training, and referral offices. The district offices also work in conjunction with a publicly accessible online interactive database of all approved providers.¹⁹

The Department of Transitional Assistance is central in the welfare to work system at both the state and local levels. Since the administrative hierarchy is centralized at the state level--local offices are largely service-providing rather than policy-making or decision-making entities--the DTA figures in both state systems and as a party in local

decision-making processes and transactions. (For example, in the case of Boston, the head of the state DTA sits on the Boston Private Industry Council and the state DTA contracts with the Boston SDA for job training services for its clients in that area.) In their 1997 evaluation of the early effects of welfare reform in Massachusetts, a key observation of Urban Institute researchers was that the Department of Transitional Assistance had a great deal of power at the state level resulting from the funding and administrative shifts.²⁰ My impression is that this is still true²¹, as the DTA continues to have an extraordinary discretionary budget relative to other agencies. The DTA(S) has at its disposal a pool of approximately \$850 million in FY2000.²² As previously mentioned, the PRWORA transition effected a change to a block grant structure for funding with greatly expanded range of flexibility in using funds. In addition to direct assistance to “needy families,” using guidelines for neediness defined by the state and in accordance with the state’s TANF plan, funds can be used “to end dependence of needy parents by promoting job preparation, work and marriage, to prevent and reduce out-of-wedlock pregnancies, and to encourage the formation and maintenance of two-parent families.”²³

The allocation of funds based on Governor and department recommendations for FY2000 gives a sense of the relative allocation of funds. (It is important to realize that with this large budget, even a small percentage can be a large allocation of funds, relative to other departments.) 35% is to go to TANF direct grants. 25% is to go to a state supplement to SSI for the aged and disabled. 16% is slated to go to administration, including development of automated systems to assist with tracking benefits. 6% each goes to an Emergency Aid fund for rent or to family shelters, Emergency Aid for the elderly, disabled, and children, and Job Search services. 4% is to go to homeless

services. Smaller amounts (less than 1% each) are allocated for domestic violence specialists, teen services, and TANF/Food Stamp payments for non-citizens. Generally, the DTA itself has provided only administrative services for direct grants and established service agreements with an array of other agencies in the past in order to provide the rest of the named services, including: the Executive Office of Transportation & Construction (EOTC)(S)/Regional Transit Authorities (RTAs) and the MBTA(L) (for transportation); the Massachusetts Office of Refugees and Immigrants (MORI)(S) for services to non-English speaking refugees and immigrants; the Massachusetts Association of Community Colleges(S) for short job-training/job search programs; DSS(S) for provision of services to parenting teens; and individual SDAs(L) for job skills and placement in conjunction with WIA/JTPA programs. DTA funds were also used to institute the Career Centers(L) in 1996/1997, which were established as pilot programs in anticipation of the WIA. A few service providers are also included in its line-item budget, such as the Pine Street Inn (recipient of \$12,000,000 in 1999) and the YWCA and YMCA programs statewide(not less than \$1,400,000 in 2000).

**Boston Government and Quasi-Governmental Organizations and the
Funding Streams with which they Engage**

As I have outlined above, many agencies and organizations are involved in welfare-to-work-related programming and services. Since welfare-to-work job-related programming dovetails with consolidation of funds for job-training programming anticipated with the Workforce Investment Act, Empowerment Zone funding through HUD for the City of Boston, State programs through the Workforce Training Fund, and

what seems to be growing support in private sector/corporate philanthropy, many agencies seem to be shifting their programs to follow the trend and funding stream.

The following governmental and quasi-governmental entities are directly involved in brokering the Welfare-to-Work system in the city of Boston. Per the discussion in the first part of this paper, it is difficult to determine distinctly where government stops and where the private sector begins in this regard. I attached labels to each named organization identifying sector and level of operation (1-private for-profit, 2-public, 3-non-profit; Local, State, and Federal).

Boston Private Industry Council (PIC)

(hybrid 1/2/3: legally 3rd sector 501c3; Local)

The Private Industry Council (PIC) form originates in the Job Training Partnership Act of 1982 (F) (JTPA). The JTPA prefigured the WIA, establishing local administrative structures to coordinate federal and state Department of Labor and Department of Education investments with private sector goals and needs in local areas, particularly for school-to-work programming. In order to receive job training and school to work funding, states had to establish multiple “Service Delivery Areas,” (SDAs) each with a Private Industry Council and a local government partner; the Boston Private Industry Council was established as the PIC for the Boston metropolitan SDA. Rechristened a “Regional Employment Board,” the PIC is the mandated partner that co-administers the Department of Labor Welfare-to-Work grants (F) with the Boston Office of Jobs and Community Services.²⁴

Per legislative mandate, the PIC is numerically dominated by and chaired by private sector representatives. Despite its mandated private-sector majority, it is structured as a 501c3 nonprofit corporation and is primarily funded through government stipends, with city, state, and federal allocations creating a revenue stream (1998) of approximately \$4 million. At present, the staffing of the organization continues to be focused on school/youth programming, with only ten of seventy five staffers involved with adult programs. For Welfare-to-Work programming, as it is a shared responsibility, some staffing is effectively done by the OJCS. (The OJCS receives Welfare-to-Work funds and oversees administration, while PIC staff and board members choose grant recipients and are in charge of setting policy, although setting guidelines for programs seems to be done in a fairly collaborative manner.) The PIC seems to be quite politically empowered, due to its longevity, its fairly large independent budget, and its high-powered membership. It is chaired by Cathy Minehan, the Chair of the Federal Reserve of Boston. The membership consists of high level representatives from private industry (many from the finance/banking sector, the Chief Operating Officers of MGH and New England Medical Center, and the Presidents of Stop and Shop and Au Bon Pain), similarly high-level labor representatives, government representatives (Department of Transitional Assistance, Department of Employment and Training, the Mayor's Chief of Staff and the Mass Rehab Commissioner), and selected "Community" representatives (currently Action for Boston Community Development, United South End Settlements, and the Asian American Civic Association) .

Boston Office of Jobs and Community Services (OJCS) (2nd sector; Local)

The Mayor's Office of Jobs and Community Services is the "human capital" center for economic development efforts in Boston. The administrative structure for this aspect of economic development has shifted over the last few years, as functions have been consolidated. In approximately 1998²⁵, OJCS became part of the Economic Development Industrial Corporation (EDIC), the quasi-public entity that was established in the 1960s to handle redevelopment funds. The EDIC, while retaining some aspects of its separate fiscal status, then became part of the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA); there is no separate Director of the EDIC. Thus, at present, the head of the OJCS reports to the Director of the BRA. The OJCS handles all state and federal grants (Empowerment Zone jobs creation, JTPA/WIA, any other special DOL grants like the Welfare-to-Work, and CDBG funds pertaining to job training and employment). It is structured to function in parallel to the BRA's Department of Neighborhood Development (also known as the Public Facilities Department), which is the "physical capital" center, handling the infrastructure-based economic development projects and state and federal grants (CDBG, Empowerment Zone, McKinney Shelter-Plus-Care, Low-Income Housing Tax Credit).

Office of Child Care Services

(2nd sector; State) and ABCD (2nd/3rd sector hybrid; Local)

While the Office of Child and Family Services in the City of Boston is responsible for communication and outreach regarding childcare resources in the City of Boston, and there is a fine-grained network of institutions and individual providers that actually provide care, the organization that won the contract to orchestrate childcare

services for the Boston Service Delivery area from the State is Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD). ABCD is an the city Anti-Poverty agency as designated for the purposes of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964; it had been established with Ford Foundation funds in anticipation of the Great Society programs in 1962. It claims to be the largest single human services agency in New England, with an operating budget of \$76 million in 1999, and serving 80,000 people annually with programs ranging from neighborhood planning councils to weatherization assistance, to Head Start childcare centers to summer youth programs. These programs are financed primarily with government funds from federal, state, and local sources; 92% of the budget in 1999 came from government funds, primarily federal and state.

The center run by ABCD, Childcare Choices of Boston, is structured to offer assistance for individuals (referrals are free to people across the economic spectrum, more specialized services essentially available on a sliding-scale basis), childcare providers, and private companies. TANF recipients can apply for child care vouchers through the DTA, which cover the entire cost of childcare for the first year of work. They are then referred to the local childcare resource and referral agency for more information and assistance in placing children with a service provider. Under some circumstances, TANF recipients can use vouchers to pay “informal” providers (family, etc.) for childcare, but they are reimbursed at a much lower rate than are licensed providers (\$2/hr at present). They may also be able to get vouchers for childcare in order to attend evening classes, but this is not a first priority for the use of vouchers. According to service providers, it is difficult for those doing shiftwork to find appropriate childcare arrangements for odd hours through this system. In these circumstances it is

apparently common for these women to choose overnight shifts, when the children will be asleep and it is easier to have a friend or relative take care of them.

Although I did not secure an interview with an ABCD representative about their Welfare-to-Work program, it is also quite relevant that ABCD plays a dual role in this system as a training provider for childcare workers through the Welfare-to-Work grants program. It employs program graduates in its own childcare operations throughout the city.

Career Centers (3rd Sector; Local)

“One Stop Career Centers” are a key feature of the new Workforce Investment Act legislation, but were piloted early in a few selected locations in Massachusetts well in advance of these requirements (with JTPA and DTA funds). This pilot included three centers in the City of Boston. The Centers represent collaborations by: 1) The Office of Jobs and Community Services and Jewish Vocational Services (“The Work Place”), 2) Dimock Community Health Center, Morgan Memorial/Goodwill Industries, and the Women’s Educational and Industrial Union (“Boston Career Link”), and 3) The Department of Employment and Training and ABCD (formerly Drake Beam and Morin) (“JobNet”). Like the childcare system, the Career Centers are to combine online resources with access to counseling and more specialized “live” services for people needing additional assistance, although this component of the program is not yet fully operational. Depending on the economic status of the client, s/he may be asked to pay fees for services, but access to the job posting system is free of charge. As with childcare resources, the mandate of the Career Centers is specifically to serve both individuals and

companies, and counselors are apprised of their responsibilities to both entities.

Counselors/programs are given incentives for performance, with bonuses available for clients successfully completing job training programs, for example.

The centers operate separately, and, as most of these programs, are designed to compete for clients and offer slightly different services from one another as well as several locational options (all three at present are, however, essentially in downtown Boston). While they are authorized to offer services to clients across the educational spectrum, in the past year of operation these centers taken together served a majority of clients with a high school education or less (55% of clients). They also served slightly more African-Americans than any other ethnic group (35% Black, compared to 31% Caucasian; 15% Latino; 10% Asian; 8% Other).²⁶

Career Centers are mandated in the WIA legislation, and they will proliferate in the upcoming year (with 31 slated to open in Massachusetts in FY2000), although whether or not Boston itself will get more than its current allotment is unclear. This does not just affect organizations that elect to become partners in running Career Centers. In order to receive referrals, other organizations must be also active in becoming part of the system; as for the JTPA programs, agencies must become certified and classified as “core” or other service in order to be eligible to receive referrals through this system and (new with WIA) be eligible for voucher payments. This is not elective for many organizations that receive related government funding, as “mandated partner” programs must make their resources available through the Career Center system. It is through these Career Centers or electronic links to the Career Center system that each client will eventually access his or her “individual training account.”

Healthcare, Hospitality, and Financial Services (1st sector organizations and 3rd sector (hospitals): national, regional, and local)

The primary sectors that are involved in the welfare-to-work brokering efforts in the City of Boston are healthcare, retail sales, “hospitality”/hotel, and financial services. (Healthcare, tourism, and financial services are all sectors identified as important economic “clusters” in Massachusetts by Michael Porter, the Harvard Business School economic development authority, and heavily referenced in state economic development planning.) Every Boston-area hospital is participating in the Welfare-to-Work programs and most plan to participate in Career Ladders programming as well. The healthcare industry is a very important part of the economy of greater Boston, representing 42% of all employment and two of the top three large employers in the city as of 1998²⁷. In addition to its recent biotech spinoffs, Boston has been the top city to receive federal NIH for a number of years running, including this year’s allocation of over \$700 million²⁸.

While healthcare, due to the aging of the population, is identified as a key growth sector in the U.S. economy in general and in Boston in particular, it is not just growth that has led to a shortage of entry-level employees in healthcare and related fields. The restructuring of jobs in the wake of mergers of major Boston hospitals since the mid-1990s has also caused a great deal of upheaval. Although nominally non-profit organizations, hospitals are very much subject to economic considerations and are very sensitive both to government subsidies (Medicare and Medicaid) and evolving relationships with managed care entities that were introduced in the 1980s²⁹.

In response to pressures from managed care, hospitals in Boston, as elsewhere, have attempted to obtain economies of scale and scope through mergers, acquisitions, and development of a variety of outpatient services and specialty treatment centers. They have also tried to minimize inpatient care and de-skill many tasks previously performed by nurses. The result has been the creation of a great many low-skill jobs at the “health aide” level and also, according to “industry sources” cited by the *Boston Business Journal*, the current shortage of nursing staff is due to the fact that “in the early '90s, hospitals reduced their nursing staffs largely through attrition, by not replacing retiring nurses, and through layoffs. But with cost pressures continuing to mount, hospitals began to cut deeper, breaking up all the tasks of skilled nursing care and then hiring unlicensed personnel to perform them.”³⁰ Hospitals also continue to expand their range of services out-of-hospital, utilizing home health care and related aide services extensively.

While de-skilling of tasks has not been such a major feature of the mergers and acquisitions in the banking/financial services industry (another Boston “cluster” that has the Porter imprimatur), it is another important economic sector in the City of Boston that has gone through an enormous consolidation in recent years. Consolidation and reorganization in this sector has accelerated in the past year in response to the repeal of the Glass-Steagall Act, which allows these firms to diversify into a greater range of financial services (including insurance, which is another area in which the health care and the financial services industries overlap). The merger of the chief Boston banking institution--BankBoston --with regional Fleet Financial Services has created an enormous entity that dominates the financial landscape and has had a large impact upon the jobs of workers in these organizations.³¹ This merger also has import for the non-profit

community in terms of CRA obligations and philanthropic support. BankBoston had previously been involved in many community initiatives and was regarded as a reliable philanthropic support and contributor to many local organizations, while Fleet, as a regional interest without roots in the Brahmin philanthropic community tends to be regarded as a less beneficent force and one with future choices in corporate giving and sponsorship that are unclear. At present, it seems that Fleet, while utilizing the Work Opportunity Tax Credit, has not availed itself of this round of Welfare-to-Work services intensive programs, although several other local competitors have done so (State Street, US Trust). It was, however, involved with a Welfare-to-Work project with the Urban League in 1998. Prior to the merger, BankBoston sponsored a Career Ladders initiative in the healthcare industry that will be launched in the upcoming months.

The hotel/hospitality industry, like the healthcare industry, has been growing in Boston in recent years and is projected to further blossom with the completion of the South Seaport District development and its new convention center. It is also interesting to note that the hospitality sector is also beginning to cross over into health services, in the guise of elder care communities. Due to its need, like the hospital industry, to have entry-level workers available en masse and around the clock, the hospitality industry was one of the first sectors in the U.S. to actively and creatively recruit “nontraditional” workforce participants to occupy entry level positions, and has been doing so on a national basis.

Nonprofit/For Profit Collaboratives Administering DOL Welfare -to-Work Grants

The following organizations have been funded through the City of Boston Welfare-to-Work grants and are currently running programs. Application for this funding is

“open” and there is currently an RFP in circulation that describes the revised federal guidelines, for which money will be available in the fall of 2000. The City of Boston has chosen to structure its programs through a partnership model: all projects must include an employer that will guarantee full time jobs to all program participants who graduate from the “job readiness” sequence. Per the federal guidelines for this funding, participants cannot receive job training, only “job readiness” assistance before beginning jobs. The ban on actual training is interpreted quite strictly and includes job-shadowing, practice interviews, discussions of workplace norms, “exposure” to computers, and assistance with practical details from clothing for work to referrals for childcare and housing issues. Once employed, participants then qualify for case management, additional training that leads to GED or career advancement, and childcare and transportation benefits for one year. If they lose the job or are dissatisfied, they are also entitled to be re-placed. Supervisors of these workers also receive counseling/problem-solving assistance for the year of follow-up.

Representatives from organizations that are using these funds meet together monthly with PIC and OJCS representatives for group discussion of the progress of the programs and have also participated in a “best practices” speaker series (entitled “Waiting to Exhale”) that is ongoing from March through May 2000. They train participants in small peer groups (of no more than 15) that “graduate” every nine to twelve weeks. The contracts that they hold designate a set number of “cycles” of these classes that are to be held and number of jobs that are to be offered in total.

While Health Care, Retail, and Hospitality are all target industries, the Health Care and Retail programs are the most numerous among those funded. In future, there may be

other targeted industries, including more “male” oriented jobs, according to some OJCS administrators. In addition, it is clear that there are a small group of organizations that have dominated the field in competing for funds: Morgan Memorial Industries/Goodwill is very definitely in the forefront, with Jewish Vocational Services being also engaged with several employers. Action for Boston Community Development is involved with more than one agency as well as spearheading childcare resources, and other nonprofit organizations are involved with only one program each. This is established not only by city-mediated competitive grants, but also by federal competitive grants, each consisting of several million dollars, of which Goodwill has received several. As mentioned above, ABCD is also the recipient of a separate childcare grant through the state (from child care block grant funds and TANF funds), which makes it the child care services information, referral, and training hub for the Boston area.

Boston Welfare-to-Work Grants:

Health Care	Financial	Hospitality	Childcare	Retail
Benjamin Health Care/Jewish Vocational Services	US Trust/ABCD	*Marriott/Crittenton Hastings House	ABCD (childcare employer and trainer)	Urban League/Grater Boston Food Bank/Roche Brothers/TJX Warehouse
*St. Mary's Women and Infants Center/Caritas Christi Healthcare System	Mellon Bank/Training, Inc. and Jobs for Youth	*Back Bay Hilton/ Colonnade/ Beth Israel Deaconess/ Children's Hospital/JPND and Fenway CDC	Kids Palace Daycare/Life Focus Center	*Filene's Basement and TJX/Morgan Memorial Goodwill
*Partners Healthcare/WorkSource/Jewish Vocational Services				*ABCD/Morgan Memorial Goodwill (retail)

*organizations with which I was able to obtain interviews

There are several concerns that seem to be shared among organizations funded through the Welfare-to-Work program. An oft-repeated refrain by those working in direct service is that affordable housing is very difficult to obtain, thus undermining the efforts of many participants to achieve self-sufficiency; off-hours childcare, substance abuse and mental health are also mentioned as areas not sufficiently addressed by these programs. Due to a strict regulatory environment, these providers do not intervene in these areas, although they seek to provide referrals. Since Greater Boston Legal Services has an agreement with the DTA to provide counseling/advice to clients on legal matters, which gives them more leeway to provide informal confidential counseling, some providers refer clients to this provider as a catch-all for other issues, such as financial planning or domestic violence. Substance abuse is another important issue (providers and Career Center employees estimate that between 30-40% of clients have undisclosed substance abuse issues); appropriate referrals cannot be made without disclosure and due to very strict guidelines excluding substance abusers from many programs, it is very difficult to believably impart to participants that this is actually one of the targeted “barriers to employment” that will make them eligible for special services. Finally, there are concerns about the disposition of a significant contingent of families, most with very young children, that are exempt from work requirements under the Massachusetts regulations, but not exempt from the time limits on assistance; these clients are less likely to receive any interventions and information from the system prior to the end of their benefits. Even for those with requirements, detailed assessments and referrals are not

made for people with very high barriers to employment until they are at the end of their time on benefits, at which point it is very difficult to construct effective interventions.

A very practical programmatic concern is that it has been very difficult to find clients for the programs to date. The system of referrals from DTA to Career Center to service provider proved to be unwieldy. Coordination difficulties were exacerbated by the stringent selection criteria for participation in these programs that originated in the federal legislation. Multiple employment barriers had to be demonstrated by those served in the DOL Welfare-to-Work programs (the criteria, due to feedback given to Congress by the Urban Institute researchers who were engaged to evaluate progress at the one-year mark, were changed--effective immediately for those who were funded directly through competitive grants, and effective in October for those funded through state/city allocation of funds). These barriers had to include lack of GED and literacy below a fifth grade level or substance abuse issues and long-term unemployment. Potential clients were intimidated by literacy testing and eventually a system was devised by Career Centers in which they offered financial incentives to complete this aspect of the evaluation (\$25 gift certificates to Star Market). Disclosure of substance abuse issues was rare. Word of mouth seems to indicate that one of the ongoing issues that may have added to these difficulties is that the DTA line-workers are not known for being uniformly forthcoming with referral information. (There was some attempt to co-locate DTA employees with Career Centers, but that was discontinued for reasons I have not been able to ascertain.) The Office of Jobs and Community Services has devoted a position to outreach and has sponsored not only print advertisement, but a special summer career fair attended by the "star" of a local hip-hop station (JAMN94.5); staff

will soon also include “walk and talkers” as well that do outreach by going door-to-door in target neighborhoods. Individual organizations are involved in outreach as well, with those that do not have correlated services for low-income populations (such as Partners) being most hard-hit, requiring their going to health fairs, neighborhood events, malls, and PTA meetings in order to reach their target population, then essentially escorting these clients to a career center to get an official referral in order to participate in their program.

There is some difference of opinion amongst providers about strict interpretation of the “work first” model and whether or not it would be better to have had more lengthy job training foregrounded. This conflict is apparently also reflected in the legislature, which proposed several amendments to the current welfare-to-work plan in the last session of the MA congress, allowing for up to 10 hours per week of DTA approved education and training to count toward work requirements and mandating assessment and referral within the first 90 days of welfare receipt for barriers to employment, but the bills encapsulating these changes were finally vetoed by Republican Governor Cellucci, whose budget proposal for 2001 includes stricter constraints on work exemptions and an increase in work hours required for receipt of TANF. It is not clear to me how providers of basic skills programs and community colleges are affected by the emphasis on jobs first rather than allowances for education. However, it does seem that there is something of a battle-line drawn between these two approaches, and I would guess that this shift in funding and program emphasis might require retooling and adjustment from education-oriented programs.

SHORT CASES: Welfare-to-Work DOL grantees

Particular Welfare-to-Work collaborations between not-for-profit institutions and employers have taken on quite distinct characters, although all are structured in very similar ways in order to abide by the parameters of the OJCS/PIC RFP (in terms of length of pre-placement preparation and activities, post-placement case management structure, and training cycle). These collaborations suggest several ways in which combinations of public, for-profit private, and not-for-profit private functions may be combined to create an employment-based welfare system. They also suggest several ways in which the emphasis on a more employment-based safety net may lead private and not-for-profit institutions to change their missions and their practices and patterns of relating to other organizations. As almost all of the organizations with which I had interviews were involved in health or other care-taking work, I have included information about this aspect of their work as well when it was available; I believe that, while I have been unable to depict this aspect of the picture very clearly, changes in care-taking patterns and funding streams for children, the elderly, and the ill or disabled are very much implicated in the ways in which organizations, for-profit and not-for-profit are reconfiguring their work. Ideally, it would have been quite helpful to discuss programs with more informants per organization, to have made successful contacts with all Welfare-to-Work grantees rather than a sample and to expand the scope of my investigation to include JTPA/ESP funded programs and more peripheral organizations as well as Welfare-to-Work grantees. However, the information that I did gather does suggest several interesting patterns.

The Marriott Hotel and TJX/Goodwill collaborations are similar in that they are representative of large, nationally based companies incorporating recruitment strategies that included roles for (and subsidies from) not-for-profits and government. As employment brokering and facilitation are quite traditional modes of offering private assistance, it is perhaps not surprising that Goodwill, Jewish Vocational Services, and Crittenton Hastings House, all large, old, established organizations with roots in this ethos, have adapted to this system quite well, perhaps even achieving, in the case of Goodwill, a return to original mission.

In contrast to these organizations which have incorporated this funding into existing services, Jamaica Plain Neighborhood Development Corporation has chosen to change or add a significant component to its mission, entering into the arena of employment services in what almost amounts to a hybrid of an employment agency and a settlement house sort of neighborhood-based services model. In an interesting twist on this model, a for-profit entity, WorkSource Staffing Partnership has attempted to create a business on the basis of its alliances with neighborhood and ethnicity-based CBOs as sources of referrals for employees and its services in entry-level employee training and retention.

Finally, it is clear that the welfare-to-work grants alone represent a part rather than the whole of the body of organizations impacted by these transitions. Community colleges, immigrant resource centers, trade unions, mental health and domestic violence services all have roles in addressing the needs of low-income women and families in the city of Boston and are impacted by these changes. Thus, I have also included brief sketches of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union and the Service Employees

International Union local 285 (Boston) organizations that participate in workforce training-related funding streams, but do not receive Welfare-to-Work grants through the Department of Labor. In future research, this would be a very interesting avenue to pursue, as I suspect that shifts are fairly pervasive in the non-profit service-provider community.

“Old” Organizations and the Refinding of Mission

For several organizations that I have studied, the provision of employment-brokering services has been consonant with the original mission of the organization. Three of these four organizations were founded during a period of social experimentation with non-poorhouse-based but largely non-monetary assistance to the urban needy/immigrants between 1870 and the 1930s. Thus, my hypothesis is that their founding circumstances resonate with the current ideological climate, in which the desire to promote work rather than give income supports and return responsibility to local government provision prevails so strongly. The fourth organization (Jewish Vocational Services) was founded a bit later, in 1938, in response to high levels of Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe, and thus, also has a similar founding ethos of assistance with assimilation and employment and similar functions in the current economy. As Linda Gordon, Theda Skocpol, and other gender-conscious historians of the social welfare system have observed, the AFDC/Unemployment & Social Security divide essentially created separate “female” (entitlement-based, redistributive, but very limited) and “male” (work-based, less redistributive, but very extensive) systems for assistance in the 1930s. In the world of private (particularly the predominant Protestant)

charity however, assistance to both men and women who were not disabled or decrepit with age was generally work-based but gender segregated by type of work during the period in which these organizations were founded.

While these organizations all have similar founding circumstances, their ideological orientations differ and the stance that each takes with respect to clients in the welfare-to-work transition is quite distinct. Goodwill Industries, the most “successful” of the organizations in this funding stream in terms of dollars and contracts garnered, was established to offer work and pathways to work for destitute men; the Archdiocese of Boston’s hospital and social service conglomerate was established to offer services to the poor; the Women’s Educational and Industrial Union was established to perform employment brokering, training, and advocacy for women. As noted above, Jewish Vocational Services had an employment-brokering and assimilation function for immigrants. In the current environment, each organization remains true to its “roots” while ostensibly performing the same function as outlined in the welfare-to-work grant RFP.

**GOODWILL INDUSTRIES/MORGAN MEMORIAL & TJX Corporation
(3rd Sector statewide, with national connections; 1st sector national)**

“The Goodwill method of self-help and achieving independence was born in 1895, when Reverend Edgar J. Helms, in the South End of Boston, provided needed job skills training to impoverished immigrants by employing them to repair unwanted goods for resale.”-- Goodwill Industries brochure, 2000.

A Methodist, Helms and the organization that he founded were well-grounded in a branch of ascetic Protestantism that saw works as the proof of salvation and sought to be a ‘modernized’ Puritanism. For all of the issues surrounding the commercialization of

nonprofits at present and ways in which engagement with trade may cause deviation from mission, for Goodwill Industries from its inception to the present there is an unquestionable mission-driven consonance between the rehabilitation of goods for sale and the rehabilitation of men for the workforce, rendering both useful to society. This combination of reselling goods, providing work and training for those unable to secure such on their own, and programs to send poor children to the country (“the Fresh Air Fund”) continues to this day. Boston was the site of the founding Goodwill, but there is now an international network of Goodwills (each of which has a large degree of local autonomy). The Boston Morgan Memorial Goodwill is a very large service provider and business; in 1999, the organization had operations worth approximately \$20 million and itself provided paid jobs for over 500 targeted workers in its resale retail operation (exclusive of program/professional staff).

While the Goodwill programs focused more heavily on the disabled than on impoverished immigrants and others by the 1970s, becoming a major state intermediary for training and assistance for this population as well as continuing to run its retail operations and programs for youth, the advent of welfare-to-work programming was a very good fit for the Goodwill mission and the organization seems to have embraced it with a great deal of vigor. The welfare-to-work transition and related re-emphasis on job training for the adult population seems to have allowed the organization to return to its original mission, albeit with a stronger focus on women. It has risen to the forefront of the welfare-to-work “field” in Boston, garnering national attention and winning several competitive federal grants for its work in addition to the city contracts that it holds. According to a welfare-to-work program representative, there are other organizations

involved in Welfare-to-Work programs that have more reservations about this ideology and contend that education and other skills training is important before placement, questioning the “work first” ideology (my observations would agree with this perception). Goodwill, however, as an organization is unequivocally committed to the “power of work.”

Illustrating the opportunity that the organization has taken to reinvigorate its original identity, it is interesting to consider the mission statement. The current mission statement (reformulated this fiscal year) of the organization incorporates the “original” slogan of Morgan Memorial/Goodwill: “not charity but a chance.” It is as follows: “Not charity but a chance. Our mission is to offer exemplary job training and related services to help individuals with disabilities and other barriers to employment to achieve independence and dignity through work.” Five years ago, the mission statement was much less work-focused: “To work in partnership with those the agency serves and the community to provide training, vocational and human services that improve the quality of life for individuals with disabilities, barriers to employment, and at-risk youth.”³²

Given its previous history as an established Boston service-provision intermediary, the agency was quite well-equipped and well-positioned to compete for contracts of this kind. More of the programming is now welfare-to-work (due to rise in that kind of work available--disability-related services are stable) but there is a fairly large amount of overlap between the two. (Recent federal legislation emphasizing work for the disabled as well should also help narrow the gap that exists at present.) Welfare-to-Work programs are structured, per the legislation, to offer less lengthy programs, more focused on a swift placement than in pre-placement training. Similar programming that

is funded through private money, JTPA and employment slots from the Empowerment Zone allow for a lengthier process. “Step up” is a non-Welfare-to-Work administrative assistant and computer training program. “Work Partners” is a more open ended program, with job development services, funded through a direct federal grant that was specifically awarded to assist clients facing time limits who have identified disabilities. Following from the city of Boston RFP structure, Goodwill has a case manager for the employees and a separate case manager to assist store managers supervising welfare-to-work employees and has found that this is a very helpful feature of the program.

Goodwill’s designated partner, TJX Companies, has shown an unusual degree of commitment to this process and this population. “First Step”--the retail/TJX Welfare-to-Work program, is a curriculum constructed together by TJX and Goodwill, with some trainees placed at Goodwill and some placed in TJX retail positions. Boston is a pilot program for TJX with this kind of intensive program for the “very hard to employ” population, although CEO Ben Camerata was one of the early corporate recruits to this effort, and made headlines standing next to President Clinton and pledging to hire employees from the welfare rolls. The TJX Companies nationally consider this project a significant success, and have hired over 13,000 former welfare recipients as compared to the original target goal of 5000 total; representatives say that retention rates for these employees is higher than that of mainstream entry-level hires. In coordinating the program nationally, TJX has found it most efficient to externalize the hiring structure; an outside for-profit consulting firm created and maintains a job-order hotline through which job openings can be posted by managers and local CBO’s direct their referrals. The

company is considering going into school-to-work programming in order to expand upon this system of obtaining entry-level hires.³³

Goodwill has relationships with many other employers as well, since even before this particular round of funding, the organization was placing people with employers and was known to Boston employers as a resource. It also has more formal collaborative relationships with other nonprofits than it had in the past. Although Goodwill is a large, well-established organization with a strong network of connections, it considers collaboration the “wave of the future,” finding that expanded geographical scope and multiple specializations through collaboration is important in job placement and training services. Sending people to retail and administrative jobs that are immediately available through the Goodwill system is fine, but it is helpful to have a wider spectrum of employers and opportunities to offer to prospective job employees, as that increases the probability of a good match and retention.

Morgan Memorial is also affiliated with one of the Career Centers (partnering with the WEIU and Dimock Community Health Center) and does marketing at all of them in order to procure clients. ABCD is a partner on the Work Pathways program. Dimock Community Health Center has a JTPA/ESP Health Training Program for which Goodwill is a partner. Jewish Vocational Services and Crittenton Hastings House are the other institutions that are essentially considered to be peers of the organization. Funding for training is considered a growth field and Goodwill, along with other Boston-area organizations is preparing for this next phase of funding and training.

ST MARY’S/CARITAS (3rd sector local/regional)

“Our advocacy on behalf of not-for-profit health care, our commitment to universal coverage for the poor and uninsured... has resonated resoundingly with caregivers and communities alike... By focusing on the ministry of our work, by dedicating ourselves to upholding the human dignity of each patient, by pursuing excellence in the high quality of care we offer, and by continuing to forge new relationships with Catholic and non-Catholic health care providers alike, we will, with the help of our caregivers and benefactors, ensure the continued success of Catholic health care in our region.”

-- CaritasChristi Health Care System. Online available:

<http://www.caritaschristi.org/message.html>. March 11, 2000.

The Caritas Christi Health Care System is the Catholic health care system of the New England area, based in the Archdiocese of Boston. As contrasted to other local hospitals that emphasize research, teaching, and specialized care, Caritas characterizes itself primarily as an organization devoted to community service and care. It is also avowedly against privatization of the health care system, stating that “[s]taunchly opposed to the entrance of publicly-traded, investor-owned interests in the acute care hospital market of Massachusetts, Caritas Christi maintains that health care is a service and a mission. It is not a commodity to be bought and sold.” It is also actively religious, maintaining that: Caritas has been very active in engaging with public policy-making processes, advocating for expanded health care coverage and model health care plans. The ideological commitment to a non-profit form, however, does not exempt the hospital from the exigencies of managed care and other competitive pressures, and it has absorbed several other hospitals, doubling its size in two years and expanding into non-acute care (home health and physician groups), as have other hospital systems. This orientation, participating in a system that is potentially ideologically problematic, but attempting to infuse it with an ethos of charitable work, seems to echoes the stance of the organization toward welfare-to-work programs.

The Caritas Welfare-to-Work program is characterized as part of a service continuum for women in distress, based at St. Mary's Women and Infants Center in Dorchester, rather than primarily as a feeder program for workers. The establishment of the Women and Infant's Center was the recent (1993) outgrowth of a merger, when inpatient services from St. Margaret's Hospital for Women were consolidated with St. Elizabeth's Medical Center as an outgrowth of an acquisition of Carney Hospital, a community-based religiously-founded hospital that had been in South Boston since 1863 and was formerly the largest employer in Dorchester. The Women and Infants Center is conceived as a holistic intervention in this low-income neighborhood, providing: "health, social services, and related programs to fill in the gaps in services for at risk women and children in a disenfranchised neighborhood." Their facilities also include a series of "homes:" for homeless women, battered women, abused children and teen mothers.³⁴ Similarly, the Welfare-to-Work program offers employment to a fairly small group of particularly distressed neighborhood residents. According to Wyvonne Stevens, the Director of the Welfare-to-Work program, the program receives client referrals through its own emergency services network as well as from its visible position in Dorchester, which is a neighborhood to which 42% of TANF funds in Boston are currently distributed³⁵. There is some attempt to place graduates of the program together in the hospital and an ideological commitment to continue follow-up counseling for them on an ongoing basis, potentially beyond the one-year mandate of the program. Several have been hired by the Women and Infants Center itself.

Carney Hospital had also sponsored an allied health and nursing school through Laboure College, which Caritas has assumed as well. In the future, it is likely that

Laboure will be a partner in training programs that are established through this system, including a “Career Ladders” sort of program for advancement of hospital employees.

JEWISH VOCATIONAL SERVICES (3rd sector local, with national connection)

Jewish Vocational Services is a secular organization with an ethnic/religious base that has been providing English as a Second Language (ESL), employment and training services for refugees and immigrants since 1938. The original mission of the organization, like many others that are affiliated with Combined Jewish Philanthropies, was to assimilate Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. Over the decades, the focus of JVS programming has become more diffuse, geographically and ethnically. Currently, the primary immigrant groups served are Russians and Somalis, both also predominantly Jewish groups, but services such as the Welfare-to-Work program are offered to American-born non-Jewish populations.³⁶ JVS was also one of the first area agencies offering training and services for entrepreneurs, and it continues to offer this set of services and skills, again a good ‘fit’ for its target immigrant populations; in this capacity, JVS is a partner in the One Stop Capital Shop, a small/medium sized-business service center that was established by the City of Boston and a number of collaborating nonprofit organizations to serve the Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community³⁷. There has been some mission tension around issues of religious affiliation and the relationship between the Boston program and Combined Jewish Philanthropies, which is the largest single funding source as well as a source of leadership direction.

Federal and state funding for JVS has come through literacy/education programs and refugee/immigrant programs in the past (Adult Literacy, English as a Second Language, Adult Basic Education and External Diploma Program and Family Literacy are all major initiatives in these areas). Thus, while it is participating in the Welfare-to-Work programs, there is likely to be some tension in terms of policy advocacy between the desire to promote education-oriented programs vs. short skills-oriented employment-first approaches.

While JVS has been quite effective in competing for these funds, Welfare-to-Work programming is projected to represent a fairly small proportion of the organization's emphasis in the future, and is "winding down" into a transition to post-placement counseling and assisting participants in "keeping jobs." The transition to the Career Ladders model as an expansion of its current counseling and placement services for immigrants and a more middle-income population seems to provide a better mission fit for the organization, and is projected to expand over time. Fee-for-service income through programming targeted at higher income, more middle-class job seekers/changers is one of the growth areas upon which the organization is planning to capitalize. JVS already has a fee-based program for this population which includes counseling, resume review, and videotaping of simulated interviews. Staff reports that the organization is hopeful that this will dovetail with the Career Ladders programming for lower-income groups, resulting in the agency forming long-term relationships with clients across the economic spectrum who come to JVS for career counseling, job training and retraining over the course of their evolving work-lives.

JVS has connections with multiple employers (hospitals and nursing homes) rather than one designated partner, due to a last-minute problem with a prospective partner, but the organization regards this as a boon rather than a liability, since case workers here as elsewhere find it helpful to have more than one employer to which they may refer their clients.

WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL UNION (3rd sector local/State)

This study of the expenditures of women workers is based on detailed records of the living expenses of 450 wage-earning women in the city of Boston... The question of the living wage for the woman worker is hardly touched at all in the existing literature of work and wages. There are numerous studies of women's work, but they do not deal with the living wage; there are also various treatises on the latter subject, but they do not discuss it with reference to women workers. The need of definite information on the cost of living for the wage-earning woman is a real one. A few years ago a group of working women, in making a demand upon their employer for higher wages, declared, 'We cannot live on what we earn.' The employer inquired, "Then what wages can you live on?" No one of the women could answer the question definitely or in any other way than by an estimate of her own individual needs. In general the employer who wishes to pay a living wage to his women employees cannot tell what the amount should be. The determination of standards of expenditure and remuneration for women is thus a matter not merely of academic interest, but really of practical importance.

--from introduction to *The Living Wage of Women Workers*, Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston, 1911.

The Women's Educational and Industrial Union (WEIU) is a matriarch in the Boston nonprofit community. Established in 1877, it has focused on employment and training for women since its inception, and was known as the "mother" of women's labor exchanges across the country. With an unusually diverse coalition of women activists, from Ellen Swallow Richard (the home economics pioneer at MIT) to Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin (a wealthy and prominent leader in the African-American women's community) to Josephine Brandeis (a similarly prominent Jewish-American activist

leader), the WEIU established itself in the 19th century as a powerhouse of activism and innovation. Like many of the settlement houses, it occupied an intermediate position between labor and employers, advocating for improved working conditions and supporting unions (then illegal), but also maintaining relationships with likely employers and promoting good behavior and improved skills for low-wage women workers through classes in domestic service and retail service. In the first two decades of its existence, it was responsible for a dazzlingly eclectic array of ambitious social experiments, from the training programs mentioned above, to supporting women's self-employment by offering their products for sale at the Union, to initiating programs eventually taken up by the state for the assistance of the blind, to running a lunchroom for working women, to creating a pilot school lunch program for children. While the role of the WEIU has changed over the years, particularly as the government has taken on many of the tasks that the WEIU had assumed, it has survived to date through continuing to serve as a clearinghouse for labor market information and resources for women and creating programs that are consistent with this mission.

The WEIU as an organization most recently reconsidered its mission and focus with a strategic planning process five years ago, following the instatement of a new Director (Mary Lassen). This planning process resulted in the resolution to make a deliberate effort to create (or re-create) a more active role for the organization in political advocacy and program/policy innovation.³⁸ This was to some degree a response to welfare-to-work changes, was also conceptualized more broadly as a return to mission for the organization, which, as mentioned above, had been a truly innovative center for policy/programs for working women in the late nineteenth and early 20th century.

Changes entailed taking over a home-health care aide cooperative (from Home Care Associates, a failed employee-owned business that had been touted by labor advocates as a progressive model for service employees); beginning an information clearinghouse and speaker series on financial planning and work/family issues (in collaboration, for instance, in its financial planning series with for-profit entities such as American Express and Waddell and Reed Financial Services and the Heinz Foundation-supported Women's Institute for a Secure Retirement); and considering ways to take on a more political presence in advocating for working women. This last priority eventually resulted in the organization's choice to apply to be the Massachusetts point-organization for the Family Economic Self-Sufficiency Project (FESS). FESS is an ongoing Ford-foundation funded project that was organized by DC-based advocacy organization, Wider Opportunities for Women; it sponsors one organization in each state in order to assess and publicize the "real" cost of living for working women and their families in the context of that state's political/policy environment. It represents an attempt on the part of these progressive advocacy-oriented organizations that function on a national level to insert a voice into these debates in the face of the decentralization/devolution of responsibility for key policy issues to the states.

Organizing the Family Economic Self-Sufficiency Project (MASSFESS) in turn created a venue for WEIU to expand from its Boston-oriented work to become a statewide leader focusing on cost-of-living issues for women and families and to become much more engaged with the legislative process. The issue of the high cost of self-sufficiency has attracted many groups involved with emergency services, housing and healthcare in particular; thus the steering committee at this point is very large--consisting

of 25 representatives of organizations in Boston alone. They have also achieved a great deal of publicity, with multiple articles published in the *Boston Globe* as well as local papers statewide.

One of the primary tenets of the project is that not every job is a good job. This is a refutation of the welfare-to-work “work first” ideology, which can fairly be characterized as a mandate to take a job quickly and hope to advance in the future. A goal of the MASSFESS over the next year is to move ahead with a long-term campaign around education and training, addressing issues of access to advancement, and discussing steps toward making access to advancement “more of a reality”--again a fairly direct critique of the welfare-to-work and career ladders programming. In an opinion piece published in the *Boston Globe*, Mary Lassen (the Director of the WEIU) opined: “The Legislature should build a ladder of opportunity strong enough to help all working families move up and ensure that as tax cuts happen, low-income families benefit”³⁹

While welfare is an issue, the project’s goal is much more broadly defined. While it has not found an outlet for all of its concerns, this action group has instigated discussions about the status of care-giving workers and the value given to care, with very low-waged workers concentrated in childcare, mental health, home health care, and other similar positions across the state. They have also been concerning with grounding definitions of poverty in cost-of-living for women and creating discussion about the dichotomy of poverty versus self-sufficiency. This is to be accomplished through reconsidering federal poverty guidelines and attempting to establish an alternative measure that would be based upon local costs of living and realistic estimates of the costs of childcare.

This somewhat oppositional/advocacy stance seems to serve as a foot in the door to political discussions and as an opportunity for engagement, both with other organizations and with the government system, at state and city levels. WEIU has eliminated its own job/career center and become a sponsoring partner in a Career Center. The MASSFESS program has been directly involved in influencing the forthcoming WIA plan, as the project director was invited to sit on the Performance Measures subcommittee for WIA implementation at the state level. In addition to coalition-building with like-minded activist/service organizations around the MASSFESS project, WEIU is also trying to find common ground with organized labor and faith-based organizations. This has included hosting a roundtable of FESS-affiliated organizations with the Massachusetts AFL-CIO to develop a list of common concerns that could be represented on the PIC/REB, since the AFL-CIO has a mandated presence on that body. According to MASSFESS Director Janet McGill, groundwork has also been laid over the last year to connect with the Archdiocese of Boston to discuss common concerns about labor issues in the current climate.

“New” Organizational Collaborations for Employment

In addition to the “old” organizations that have their origins in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there are several welfare to work partnerships that are the products of more recently established organizations. Dependent on very low-wage workers for whom turnover is high and recruitment challenging in the current climate, service industries are employing multiple avenues to recruit and retain these workers, including participating in the Welfare-to-Work program. The Partners’ Healthcare

conglomerate, the Marriott Hotel, and the hotels and hospitals of the Boston Employment Collaborative all utilize the Welfare-to-Work program as a way of recruiting and managing entry-level employees in a manner somewhat reminiscent of Sanford Jacoby's Welfare Capitalist institutions⁴⁰ (we could probably include Goodwill's TJX in this category as well). Government funding provides the perquisites that assist employees to stay in their jobs: childcare and transportation, as well as case management for a year after employment. The Service Employees International Union and the Jamaica Plain Neighborhood Development Corporation come to the employment brokering process more from a somewhat activist workers' perspective, but in the process of performing their functions as employment intermediaries also come to collaborate closely with employers. While, in contrast to the "older" institutions, this might be something of an ideological conflict for these groups (we might include ABCD amongst these as well), they are fast adopting a stance not unlike that of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, creating co-existent structures for both collaboration and conflict with business.

PARTNERS HEALTHCARE and WORKSOURCE (3rd sector regional; 1st sector local)

Partners Healthcare is the largest healthcare conglomerate in Massachusetts, established in 1994 by Massachusetts General Hospital and Brigham and Women's Hospital. According to its own publicity materials, "since then, it has become one of the nation's leading integrated health care delivery systems, based on a mission that combines patient care with medical education and research." MGH was originally affiliated with two "specialty hospitals," McLean Hospital (psychiatric) and Spaulding Rehabilitation Hospital (rehabilitation). In the past six years, the network has expanded

to include the North Shore Medical Center, Faulkner Hospital, Newton-Wellesley Health Care System. It also includes a partnership between the Dana-Farber Cancer Institute and Partners named “Dana-Farber/Partners CancerCare.” The conglomerate is a not for profit institution affiliated with Harvard University that has pursued research money (NIH, DMH, private pharmaceutical and biotech) very aggressively, and quite successfully.

Partners was involved in the school-to-work initiatives that were part of the original Private Industry Council mission, and continues to operate a program under these auspices as well as the Welfare-to-Work program⁴¹. The Welfare-to-Work program, “Project RISE,” feeds employees into administrative/clerical, dietary aide, and laboratory assistant positions at the two main Partners hospitals, Brigham and Women’s and MGH. According to Director, Alice Delgado, the program has been effective for the hospital in keeping employees in entry level jobs, which generally have a very high turnover rate, and in assisting direct supervisors, who get an unusual amount of support through this program for performing the difficult task of supervising entry level employees from various sources.

Partners also has its own in-house temporary employment agency, Bulfinch Temporary Service, which originated at MGH but has been expanded to cover other Partners hospitals as well. It is considered part of the human resources department, and offers positions for a variety of skill levels, including entry level positions parallel to those entered by Welfare-to-Work program participants. While these employees are not eligible for welfare-to-work supports, they should be eligible for career ladders training opportunities in the future.

Reversing the usual configuration of nonprofit service provider and for-profit employer, Partners has outsourced candidate screening, case-management, and post-placement counseling to a for-profit agency, “WorkSource Staffing Partnership.” WorkSource, a job-placement service, was founded by a social worker and a Harvard Business School graduate (who was also one of the co-founders of City Year) in 1994. It was positioned as a for-profit organization in order to facilitate access to capital, but also because its founders believed it to be a profitable venture in a “growth” industry. Its mission is to serve as a labor-market intermediary for lower-income workers, with the highest paid position at \$13/hr. Mary Culhane, one of the two founding partners, describes their recruitment of customers as a process of convincing an employer to invest in entry-level workers; her co-founder, Neil Silverston, describes the company of being an EAP combined with recruiting/placement services.

WorkSource has been quite intimately involved with the nonprofit sector. A major component of the start-up process was to connect with nonprofits and government departments “from the Somali Development Center to the BHA,” that served a clientele that would be in the market for entry-level jobs. This resulted a network or approximately 300 organizations from which they receive referrals.⁴² Employers with a need for entry-level employees (Partners and others such as Staples and Homeruns.com) pay WorkSource for recruitment and social services supplied to employees to keep them in jobs, in a structure not unlike that mandated by the Welfare-to-Work program requirements. This includes establishing a long term relationship with the employer, providing everything from assistance with welfare-to-work tax credit paperwork for employers to assistance for workers with language barriers, childcare and transportation

issues and any other apparent barriers to employment. This can also include orchestrating training and basic skills classes; for example, in cooperation with Bunker Hill Community College, WorkSource has recently been offering ESL courses on site at the warehouse for HomeRuns.com, which has a workforce largely comprised of immigrants from a multitude of countries. Of course, unlike Welfare-to-Work programs, there is no guaranteed hire by employers, but there is an emphasis on recruitment and retention of entry-level employees rather than churning of temporary help.

WorkSource's original relationship with Partners began in 1996 before Welfare-to-Work money was available, when it assisted Partners in achieving diversity amongst front-line admissions and administrative workers at their Mission Hill MGH site (located in a neighborhood dominated by immigrants and people of color). For this original contract, WorkSource collaborated with the Urban League and Training, Inc. (another nonprofit service provider) to provide services that would enhance retention for its recruits. (Due to the Welfare-to-Work program structure and resources, these organizations are in more direct competition with WorkSource, at this point, so this collaboration is no longer in operation. Generally speaking, the Welfare-to-Work programs have generated more competition for WorkSource, but at present the business continues to expand.)

WorkSource and Partners will be participating in Career Ladders programming as well; Brigham and Women's Hospital has contracted with WorkSource to help it construct a program assisting its nursing staff to upgrade skills and move into other positions within the organization (funded through a BankBoston grant).

MARRIOTT HOTELS/Crittenton Hastings House (1st sector national; 3rd sector local)

“Take care of the Associate, and the Associate will take care of the guest.”--Marriott Hotel motto cited in many brochures as well as by the director of the Pathways to Independence Program in Boston.

The Pathways to Independence program at Marriott is a training and employment support program for entry level Associates with histories of public assistance or otherwise exhibiting high barriers to employment. Marriott International has a department of “Community Employment and Training Programs” devoted to this programming and encouraging local Marriott hotels to coordinate with local government and community-based organizations to create public/private partnerships that will offset training costs; all Pathways to Independence programs are subsidized by such partnerships, with “Private Industry Councils/Workforce Development Boards, Job Corps, Various Community-Based Organizations, Departments of Social Services, Departments of Employment Services, Departments of Labor.”⁴³ It was piloted in 1991 in New Orleans and has gradually been adopted and adapted for Marriott hotels across the country. Citing the difficulty that the hospitality industry has in attracting and retaining competent entry-level employees, Marriott promotes this as a “reality-based, business-driven training program.” Not only does Marriott receive training subsidies, but the company also receives tax credits through the Work Opportunity Tax Credit program. In addition, this approach “eliminates the expense of using separate training institutions and outside job placement services.”⁴⁴ In 1998 this program came to the Marriott hotel in Boston, when the hotel received a City of Boston Welfare-to-Work grant. In other partnerships in the Boston Welfare-to-Work grantee group, the nonprofit partner was the

more active entity, tracking grant funding availability and soliciting the interest and involvement of private partner/s. However, in this instance, Marriott management was proactive and put out an RFP for a nonprofit partner to do case management and outreach. The partner that was chosen, Crittenton Hastings House, has two employees that perform case management and outreach functions exclusively for Marriott, while in-house Marriott trainers use the Pathways to Independence curriculum that was developed by Marriott.⁴⁵

For non-Pathways employees, the Boston Marriott system has a centralized Employment Center that was established in 1997, whereby job seekers are prescreened via telephone, interviewed at the Center or a hotel located near the applicant, and then placed. This Employment Center conducts follow-up interviews with supervisors and employees to ensure satisfaction with the placement and is also a resource for coordination of job openings/transfers amongst other Marriott workplaces in the area or across the country.⁴⁶ While this is not the case-management approach that is used with the Pathways project, it demonstrates the importance to the company of its entry-level-hire recruiting process and the energy spent on facilitating an effective internal labor market.

Pathways Associates have access for the first year of employment not only to case management, but also vouchers for transportation and childcare through state supports. Non-“Pathways” Associates at Marriott are provided with advice and referrals, though not monetary assistance, with “child care, parenting, elder care, personal and work-life balance” through Marriott’s “Associate Resource Line,” a hotline service. The Associate Resource Line is operated by the Partnership Group, Inc., a national consulting firm,

which is supposed to assist with everything from getting the earned income tax credit to discipline issues for children to coping with chronic illness. Marriott also offers full health care, dental, life, and disability insurance as well as credit union, profit-sharing, and stock options in the company (which issued an IPO in 1993) to entry level Associates. Although the company has been listed as one of the top ten companies for working mothers by Working Mother magazine for the past number of years, it does not offer direct assistance with childcare and does require flexible schedules from entry level Associates. The Director of the Pathways to Independence program in Boston suggested that many Pathways participants opt for overnight shifts because it is easier to find informal childcare overnight and less difficult for young children to be left overnight than during the day.

Marriott conducts management training sessions for all of its entry-level employees, into which “Pathways” participants are integrated. The image of the company as a family and a job as a career are part of the ideology of Marriott Hotels, and there is a great deal of emphasis in their employment model placed on mobility, at least mobility from line employee to direct supervisor positions.

WORKER EDUCATION PROGRAM: SEIU LOCAL 285

“The attack on welfare, and especially the imposition of time limits, is nothing more than a thinly disguised attack on wages....When time limits go into effect, thousands of recipients will be forced to take any job at any wage. Economists predict that this will further cut the wages of people earning less than \$8.75/hr by earning 12 percent” -- Kathleen Casavant, Massachusetts AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Statement on Welfare Reform 1998.

The Massachusetts SEIU and AFL-CIO have been steadfastly opposed to welfare reform measures and time limits, focusing at times on the plight of welfare recipients themselves, but more often on the projected effects of welfare reform on the wage scale and bargaining power for those working in industries toward which former welfare recipients are being steered. Most of the employers involved in the Welfare-to-Work programs are not unionized, which might be indicative of the ways in which these programs tend to be in place along with low levels of labor bargaining power. A PIC representative has also noted, however, that this may not just be a function of the employers themselves, but that it is difficult to establish Welfare-to-Work programs in a unionized workplace because unions require a minimum level of skill for employees to be brought into their bargaining units and resist hiring of very low-skilled employees. In contrast to their concerns about the impact of welfare reform and an influx of low-wage workers, however, unions, including the SEIU, have been quite in favor of Career Ladders funding and programming, have been directly involved in advocating for worker training, and are likely to partake in this funding stream in the future.

The Worker Education Program is separately incorporated from the SEIU as a 501c3, and was established in 1991 in order to utilize Department of Education grant money that was available for basic skills training for incumbent workers. According to a program representative, there was a similarly tight local job market at the time due to the “Massachusetts Miracle,” and companies were showing interest in training for low-skilled workers. This round of program funding included ESL and EDP/GED classes, as well as basic instruction in math and English literacy, the funding for which essentially tapered off fairly early (in 1994-5). The WEP subsequently secured another Department

of National Workplace Literacy grant for on-the-job basic skills training, which was a multi-year appointment and continues to represent the bulk of the funding for the organization. The latest funding stream that the WEP has been able to partake of is part of the Career Ladders Department of Labor pilot grant, working with Benjamin Health Care Center, which is the only unionized employer in the collaborative. This grant funds an RN at Benjamin to teach onsite courses to help lower level nurses aides move up into Certified Nurse Assistant II and III positions. The WEP was invited to participate by the PIC, and it plays a fairly small and specific role, fitting this program into the unionized organizational structure/pay scale. The WEP also recently received one of four grants that the BankBoston Charitable Foundation has proffered for worker training in five unionized hospitals and continues to receive a relatively small funding stream through the Department of Education and Training's Workforce Education Fund for computer education for incumbent workers. In general, it seems that the WEP is a fairly secondary part of the work of the SEIU, a way for the union to avail itself of funding streams that present themselves, rather than the leading edge of its efforts or a main focus of its programs.

The leading edge of the SEIU's work is organizing mental health workers employed by private companies that contract with the state. This campaign requires the union to put pressure on the state government, which determines funding levels for contracts. While this does not directly impact the population of workers that we are discussing in the context of welfare-to-work programs, it does illustrate, once again, the very complicated relationships that inhere to public/private caretaking arrangements and the status of caregiving workers.

BOSTON NEIGHBORHOOD EMPLOYMENT COLLABORATIVE (JPNDC)
A neighborhood labor exchange (3rd sector local; 1st sector mixed)

The Jamaica Plain Neighborhood Development Corporation (JPNDC) is a community development corporation that has been working in Jamaica Plain since the late 1970's. Jamaica Plain is located just south and east of the major medical area of Boston, in a still-working class but rapidly gentrifying area that is also adjacent to Roxbury. The agency considers its constituency to be working class and poor area residents, both immigrants and native-born. It estimates that population to be approximately 65% Latino, 35% African-American, with a small number of Whites that are from the Hyde Square area (which also has its own CDC) and a fairly large percentage of immigrants from the Caribbean. Two public housing developments, South Street and Bromley Heath, are included in this catchment area. As do most of these programs, the staff identifies two constituent groups within those that it refers for entry-level jobs--immigrants, who tend to have a higher previous level of education and training but difficulty with English language skills, and native-born poor residents, who tend to need more education and training.

JPNDC has recently entered into the job creation/employment brokering arena, shifting its mission over the past three years to accommodate this function. While the organization had previously been involved in economic development projects, including starting a small business incubator, the Welfare-to-Work programming represents a shift from the traditional "bricks and mortar" function of a neighborhood-based CDC.

Two different feasibility studies were done in 1997 in order to facilitate this transition. One was a community planning effort targeting neighborhood citizens and the other was an evaluation of employers and the job prospects that local employers provided. The discussion with constituent citizens led the organization to find that top priorities of local residents were: 1) accessing and creating jobs, 2) technical assistance to help create new small businesses, particularly in the revival of the CBD, and 3) affordable childcare due to the long waiting list for state programs. The employers survey found that of larger Jamaica Plain-based employers (hiring 30+ employees), mostly nursing homes, hospitals, health centers, and other social services, had workforces of which 5-10% of employees were from the neighborhoods in which they were situated, and most employers were concerned about both filling job openings and finding a diverse workforce that to some degree reflected the neighborhoods in which they were located. JPNDC estimated that 300-400 jobs were available to entry-level employees through these local employers. A tight job-market also seemed to be creating good conditions for such a project, as a few employers were going so far as to inquire through local CBOs about potential employees even without an established program or structure for doing so in place. Finally, amidst this assessment period, JPNDC was given an entry into the Welfare-to-Work service-provider world when the organization applied for and received an "Assistant Placement Contract" in 1996 through the Office of Jobs and Community Services (funded by DTA) to place as many welfare clients in jobs as possible (this was not a program for those with multiple barriers), which culminated in the organization having a very good record of placement.

Thus, the organization set up necessary systems to accommodate its new role, including systems and staff necessary for working as an employment intermediary, including relationships with and databases of residents interested in jobs and employers interested in receiving referrals. JPNDC then solidified relationships with two hospitals and two hotels by coordinating application for the city Welfare-to-Work grant for hard-to-place former welfare recipients. The organization also applied for and received highly competitive and reputedly highly political Community Development Block Grant funding through Boston's allocation (F). This CDBG funding supports the "Jobs for JP" program, which is a less structured program for less "hard to place" job candidates. Jobs for JP now has a group of 80 employers, with 40 at the "core" that are considered the employer-base. Selected employers serve on an advisory board for the work programs and many of the employers collaborate in an annual Jamaica Plain Career Fair. A third program arm is beginning soon, which will receive Career Ladders funding through the Workforce Development Fund for career advancement programs within existing employers and will not be limited to the Welfare-to-Work population.

In order to support its function as an employment intermediary, the in-house staff working on these programs have also had to assume the stance of a more mainstream employment agency. The instructor for the classes that are conducted for Welfare-to-Work programs at JPNDC is experienced in human resources work rather than social work. Similarly, while the city refers to the representatives that work with area residents looking for jobs as "case managers," JPNDC calls them "employment specialists" in deference to the image that the organization seeks to project to employers. Further emphasizing the role of the organization as a placement agency, JPNDC staff has built

relationships with designated employers such that they know nuances of the different employers and management personalities and can make fairly educated guesses about which potential employees will be the best match with a given position/employer.

Despite their assimilation to the norms of the employment/placement industry, JPNDC staff maintain that their programs are unique in their multi-employer base and in the neighborhood-based nature of the system of referrals and supports that they offer. Neighborhood residents referred to jobs that are near their homes find childcare, transportation, and other social supports more easily accessible. JPNDC also has longstanding connections with local adult education and literacy programs, as well as other neighborhood service providers, so referrals given by the staff are local, well-informed and appropriate. In the context of the Welfare-to-Work collaborative, having four large employers means that employment-seekers have a choice about where they will work, the kind of job that they seek, and can transfer to different jobs within the collaborative easily, a practice which the hospitals and hotels have generally followed informally, but was formalized through the Welfare-to-Work program. This is particularly valuable given hotel seasonal employment patterns. While individual hotels take the responsibility for reassigning all employees to other jobs (food service, etc.) in the “off” season, these jobs may be of a different nature than that which the employee had wanted to and been hired to perform. Thus, having a cross-hiring agreement allows workers to have some choice in their disposition.

JPNDC partnered with Fenway CDC on this project, with each organization providing services to clients within their respective zipcodes. (The Fenway “Walk to Work” program was the first CDC based employment program of this type, and was

established in 1995.) Peer CDCs, aside from the Fenway CDC, that are working on similar programs include the Madison Park CDC (based in Roxbury) which offers specialized customer-service training, and South Boston CDC which will be working in partnership with the new Seaport Hotel.

It is also worthy of note that JPNDNC has established a 13-week family-based childcare training program that enables low-income women to start and maintain family childcare businesses. As of February, 2000, they had trained 50 women and established a local childcare referral system that foregrounded these contracted providers, who have been approved by the State Office of Childcare Services.

CONCLUSION

It remains to be seen what the consequences will be of these organizational shifts, both for particular organizations, for-profit, non-profit, and governmental, and for the relationships amongst work, unemployment, and caregiving that these organizations determine. The Department of Labor Welfare-to-Work funding that the organizations above have received is to be phased out over the next two years as, theoretically, the hardest-to-place welfare recipients find employment. “Fathers Work/Families Win” programs using similar approaches for hard-to-employ men with child support obligations are proposed as a successor to this funding stream. “Hard to place” and low-income TANF recipients will be referred to services through the Career Centers as well, with added services for those who fail to find work through the “core” services. All of the present Welfare-to-Work programs plan to do follow-up with their clients trained in

these “cycles” for the first year of employment, and most plan to transition into doing some kind of incumbent worker training, aimed at the general workforce rather than just program graduates, for the employers with whom they currently partner. Service providers that are involved in the Welfare-to-Work programs seem to be generally unclear about the direction of the impacts of the WIA at this time (briefings on the legislation for service providers have been conducted only recently and the city plan for WIA funding usage is due in July, 2000). As they currently function through a competitive, client-selection driven system, they do not necessarily see the Individual Training Account (ITA) voucher system that is a hallmark of the WIA legislation as much of a change for them. However, the guidelines for funding usage will clearly produce some changes, and, while individual program representatives may not be aware of the impacts of the WIA on the work that they do directly, their agencies do seem to be transitioning to either Career Ladders or other employment-related services for a broader population that signal an awareness of the upcoming transition in funding streams.

As populations are shifted from the status of service consumers to workers, or as workers are seen as targets for services, and funds from human services are shifted to employment facilitation/economic development, various effects may rise from the resulting integration. These include the re-combination of traditionally male-based job training and unemployment insurance with traditionally female-based aid for families and related services; engagement of the private sector in welfare provision in several different modes; the re-visiting of the need for transportation, housing, and childcare interventions in order to effectively encourage female labor market participation; various forms of attempts to commercialize childcare and eldercare; and what seems at times to be an

implicit recognition of the blurred and often nonexistent boundaries between the working-poor and welfare recipients. To what degree these truly constitute a landmark changes and how changes in welfare policy connect to changes in employment policies in the private sector when the labor market is less tight than at present are yet to be determined.

Discussions of the commercialization of the nonprofit sector construct a different dilemma than that that is raised by the issue of nonprofits becoming employment intermediaries or strengthening that component of their programs. Espousing the power of work, coupled with Carnegie's "ladders" to advancement, for both government entities and for not-for-profits, is a choice to cultivate relationships with employers and industry as well as with clients. The client is no longer simply the individual, but so is also, quite explicitly, the industry partners. We can only hope that it will prove to be true, as Secretary of Labor Herman hopes, that "we can help provide the business community with the skilled workforce it needs while bringing prosperity to individuals and communities that have been left behind" through these initiatives and through the catalyst that they provide in local communities. It will be an interesting journey toward that goal on this path.

Works Consulted

Action for Boston Community Development. "Programs and Annual Report." Online available: <http://www.bostonabcd.org/programs.htm>. March 13, 2000.

Baker, Peter. 1998. "No News is a Bill Signed in the Midst of a Presidential Scandal." *The Washington Post*. August 12. P. A06.

Bane, Mary Jo. and Ellwood, David. 1994. *Welfare Realities: From Rhetoric to Reform*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bedford, Henry. Ed. 1995. *Their Lives and Numbers: The Condition of Working People in Massachusetts, 1870-1900*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Blanton, Kimberly. 1999. "Training to be Offered for Positions in Finance." *The Boston Globe*. January 27. D7.

Boston Office of Jobs and Community Services. 1998. "Boston Welfare to Work Grant: Principles for Expending Grant Funds."

Boston Private Industry Council. 2000. "Career Centers Fact Sheet and Charts."

Bosworth, Louise Marion. 1911. *The Living Wage of Women Workers: A Study of Incomes and Expenditures of 450 Women in the City of Boston*. New York: Longmans, Green, and Company.

Caritas Christi Health Care System. Online available: <http://www.caritaschristi.org>. March 11, 2000.

City of Boston. "FY 2000 Budget." Parts I, II, III. Online available: <http://www.ci.boston.ma.us/budget>. March 1, 2000.

Culhane, Mary. President, WorkSource Staffing Partnership. Telephone interview with author. March 14, 2000.

Delgado, Alice. Director, Welfare-to-Work Program, Partners Healthcare System. Interview with author. February 17, 2000.

Dupee, Donna. Project Director, Pathways to Independence, Boston Marriott Hotel. Interview with the author. April 4, 2000.

Goldberg, Deborah. 2000. "The Community Reinvestment Act and the Modernized Financial Services World." *ABA Bank Compliance*. Jan/Feb.

Goodspeed, Linda. 2000. "Critical Condition: Budget Cuts, Pressures of Jobs Bears Brunt of Nursing Shortage." *Boston Business Journal*. March 13.

Gordon, Linda. 1994. *Pitied But Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare 1890-1935*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gutierrez, Elsa. Project Director, Employment Services. Jamaica Plain Neighborhood Development Corporation. Interview with the author. March 22, 2000.

Hall, Peter Dobkin. 1997. "Business Giving and Social Investment in the United States, 1790-1995." *New York Law School Law Review* 41: 789-817.

Harlan, Sharon. 1989. "Women and Federal Job Training Policy." In Harlan and Steiner, Ed. *Job Training for Women*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. P. 55-90

Herman, Alexis. 2000. "Statement on the Department of Labor FY2001 Budget before the US Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education." March 22.

Huggins, Nathan Irvin. 1971. *Protestants Against Poverty: Boston's Charities, 1870-1900*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Corporation.

Industrial Aid Society of Boston. 1886-1919. *Reports*.

Jacoby, Sanford. 1997. *Modern Manors: Welfare Capitalism Since the New Deal*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Jewish Vocational Services. "An Overview." Online Available:
http://www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/cas/pulse/jvs.html. March 11, 2000.

Katz, Michael. 1986. *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America*. New York: Basic Books.

Keyssar, Alexander. 1986. *Out of Work: The First Century of Unemployment in Massachusetts*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Kirby, Gretchen; Pavetti, La Donna; Maguire, Karen and Clark, Rebecca. 1997. "Income Support and Social Services for Low Income People in Massachusetts." Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

Lassen, Mary and A. Sum. 1999. "Building a Stronger 'Ladder of Opportunity' for Poor Families." *The Boston Sunday Globe*. August 22.

Mahoney, Chris. 2000. "Workers' Compensation: Did Reforms Go Too Far?" *Boston Business Journal*. February 7.

Marriott Hotels. 2000. "Pathways to Independence: A Training for Jobs Program by Marriott." Pamphlet.

-----, 2000. "Pathways to Independence: Enhancing Self-Sufficiency through Employment Opportunities." Pamphlet.

-----, "Employment Opportunities." Online Available:
<http://marriotthotels.com/news/employment.asp>. March 30, 2000.

Massachusetts Office of Child Care Services. "Massachusetts Office of Child Care Services State Plan" Online available: <http://www.qualitychildcare.org>. March 20, 2000.

Massachusetts Department of Employment and Training. Online available:
<http://www.detma.org/lmi/labor/monthly/lf0001.htm>. March 10, 2000.

Massachusetts State Budget. "FY 2000 Recommendations." Online available:
<http://www.magnet.state.ma.us/bb/fy2000h1/cover.html>. March 20, 2000.

----, "FY 2001 Recommendations." Online available:
<http://www.magnet.state.ma.us/bb/fy2001h1/cover.html>. March 20, 2000.

Massachusetts Department of Transitional Assistance. Online available:
<http://www.state.ma.us/dta/dtatoday/reform/WelfareReform-Chapter5.htm>. March 10, 2000.

McGill, Janet. Project Director, MASSFESS, Women's Educational and Industrial Union. Telephone interview with the author. February 24, 2000.

Milligan, Jack. 2000. "The Race Does Not Always Go to the Fleet."
Institutional Investor. March.

Nightingale, Demetra Smith, J. Trutko, and B. Barnow. 1999. "Status of the Welfare-to-Work Grants Program After One Year." Urban Institute: Online Available:
http://www.urban.org/welfare/wtw_labor.html. March 10, 2000.

Pantazis, Cynthia. 1999. "Individual Training Accounts." *Training & Development*. October. Vol. 53, No. 10. P.53-55.

Pokaski, Joanne. Program Manager, Goodwill Industries/Morgan Memorial. Telephone interview with author. March 16, 2000.

"Recruitment and Assessment." Welfare to Work: Waiting to Exhale, Best Practices Speaker Series. Boston Private Industry Council, Boston, MA: February 23, 2000.

Sass, Adam. Counselor, Jewish Vocational Services Welfare-to-Work Program. Interview with the author. February 15, 2000.

Singleton, Dan. Program Coordinator, Boston Office of Jobs and Community Services. Telephone interviews with the author, April 6 & 27, 2000.

Silverston, Neil. President, WorkSource Staffing Partnership. Telephone interview with author. March 23, 2000.

Skocpol, Theda. 1992. *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Stevens, Wyvonne. Project Director, Welfare-to-Work, St. Mary's Women and Infants Center, Caritas Christi Healthcare System. Telephone interview with the author. March 2, 2000.

United States Commissioner of Labor. 1888. *Working Women in Large Cities: Fourth Annual Report*. Washington: Government Printing Office.

United States Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families. "Helping Families Achieve Self-Sufficiency: A Guide for Funding Programs for Children and Families through TANF." Online available: <http://www.acf.dhhs.gov/programs/ofa/funds2.htm>. March 10, 2000.

----- "TANF Program Funds Transferred FY 1997-1999" Online Available: <http://www.acf.dhhs.gov/programs/ofs/data/q499/table-d.htm>. March 15, 2000.

United States Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration. "The Workforce Investment Act of 1998." Online available: <http://usworkforce.org>. February 20, 2000.

Weisbrod, Burton, Ed. 1998. *To Profit or Not to Profit*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Welch, Thomas and Perkins, Gregory. 1999. "Largest Employers in the City of Boston." Online available: <http://www.ci.boston.ma.us/bra/publications/PDR509.PDF>. March 10, 2000.

Zarella, Elizabeth. Welfare-to-Work Coordinator, Boston Private Industry Council. Conversation with the author. February 17, 2000.

ENDNOTES

¹ Boston's Housing Authority has not yet accessed these to the extent that it might. It is working on grant applications at present.

² Herman, Alexis. 2000. "Statement on the Department of Labor FY2001 Budget before the US Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education." March 22.

³ The legislation allows for exceptions in the case of specialized programs through CBOs in some circumstances as well as in instances when there are too few competing organizations to justify a voucher system.

⁴ The Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act of 1998.

⁵ The evaluation also found that participants living in public or subsidized housing outperformed residents of private housing on an absolute basis; average earnings over 18 months among long-term welfare recipients in urban counties who were subject to the work participation requirements and the earnings disregard and who lived in public or subsidized housing exceeded by more than 40 percent the average earnings of participants not residing in such housing." In: "The Increasing Use of TANF For Housing Subsidies." Center for Budget and Policy Priorities.

⁶ Which was actually one of the more positive aspects of the "settlement house" model of assistance provision.

⁷ Department of Labor, Division of Employment and Training, 1997-2002 Strategic Plan: "Over the years, the proportion of the wage and salary employment covered by UI has increased to over 97% by adding programs for ex-Federal civilian and military employees and extending coverage to other groups of employees originally excluded. Despite this substantial level of coverage, the percentage of workers qualifying for benefits when they lose their jobs has declined, particularly affecting low-wage and part-time workers."

⁸ The lower rates led to a \$121 million reduction in unemployment insurance funds in 1999, and the Workforce Training Fund is established at \$18 million annually.

⁹ The Division of Employment and Training (State) under the Department for Labor and Workforce Development (State) ultimately administers these grants, with some consultation from local Private Industry Councils (Local) about the viability of individual applications in their areas. Through this program, over thirty Boston-based organizations have received funds thus far, all in a fairly moderate range of \$100,000 or less, to service organizations such as Morgan Memorial Goodwill and the YWCA (which receive grants to train their own employees like any other company); to several labor union programs; and to several private-sector employers.

¹⁰ The geographic unit of operation for welfare and job training programs is the SDA, or Service Delivery Area. This is determined by the state, but in the case of large urban areas, is coincident with the boundary for the city.

¹¹ Massachusetts Department of Employment and Training. Online available: <http://www.detma.org/lmi/labor/monthly/lf0001.htm>. March 10, 2000.

¹² Massachusetts Department of Transitional Assistance. Online available: <http://www.state.ma.us/dta/dtatoday/reform/WelfareReform-Chapter5.htm>. March 10, 2000.

¹³ Nightingale, Demetra Smith. "Institutional Effects of Welfare Reform," in Cottingham and Ellwood, Ed. *Welfare Reform for the 1990s*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989. 200-218.

¹⁴ Mahoney, Chris. "Workers' Compensation: Did Reforms Go Too Far?" *Boston Business Journal*. February 7, 2000.

¹⁵ These provisions continue to be actively debated, however. Governor Cellucci has been more conservative than was Weld, and has sought to change work-requirement exemptions to conform to the federal guidelines, while the legislature has advocated against this proposal. There has also been conflict around allowances for education and training hours to count as part of the "job search" requirement.

¹⁶ The Family Self-Sufficiency Act of 1988 was the precursor to PRWORA, put in place work requirements and established a precedent for public/private coordination around job training for welfare recipients (the MASSJobs program and MASSJobs Council were outgrowths of this legislation).

¹⁷ It is an interesting sidenote that with the Family Self-Sufficiency Act of 1988 (the precursor to PRWORA), states were given authorization to combine unemployment and public assistance offices; however, most did not do so, including Massachusetts.

-
- ¹⁸ US Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families. "TANF Program Funds Transferred FY 1997-1999" Online Available: <http://www.acf.dhhs.gov/programs/ofs/data/q499/table-d.htm>. March 15, 2000.
- ¹⁹ "Massachusetts Office of Child Care Services State Plan" Online available: <http://www.qualitychildcare.org/> March 20, 2000.
- 8 Kirby, Gretchen; Pavetti, La Donna; Maguire, Karen and Clark, Rebecca. 1997. "Income Support and Social Services for Low Income People in Massachusetts." Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.
- ²¹ Unfortunately, I was not able to conduct any interviews with representatives of the DTA due to lack of response to requests during the time period allotted for this project, so my information is based upon discussions with other agency staff or derived from published information.
- ²² FY2000 Budget Recommendations. Online Available:
- ²³ US Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families. "Helping Families Achieve Self-Sufficiency: A Guide for Funding Programs for Children and Families through TANF" Online available: <http://www.acf.dhhs.gov/programs/ofa/funds2.htm>. March 10, 2000.
- ²⁴ It will be retitled a "Workforce Investment Board" with the implementation of the WIA, in July 2000.
- ²⁵ This has been extremely difficult to document. Those involved in the programs themselves are vague about how and why this has occurred.
- ²⁶ Boston Private Industry Council. "Career Centers Fact Sheet and Charts." 2000.
- ²⁷ Welch, Thomas and Perkins, Gregory. "Largest Employers in the City of Boston." Online available: <http://www.ci.boston.ma.us/bra/publications/PDR509.PDF>
- ²⁸ This is one of the mandated lobbying arenas of the Boston Chamber of Commerce.
- ²⁹ Observation of the behavior of not-for-profit hospitals was one of the earliest areas of exploration for those concerned about the "commercialization" of the nonprofit sector in the 1980s. Per Frank Sloan's contribution to the latest volume by Burton Weisbrod on this topic: "Not-for-profit hospitals have been transformed from the almshouses of the nineteenth century to some of the larger locally run enterprises in the communities that they serve. In large part, the rapid growth of nonprofit hospitals in particular and acute-care hospitals in general reflects the massive infusion of funds from both private and public health insurance that occurred after World War II. Already by the 1970s, nonprofit and for-profit hospitals were much more alike than different. The nonprofit hospital of the 1990 fits Hansmann's definition of the entrepreneurial nonprofit better than ever before." Sloan, Frank. 1999. "Commercialism in Nonprofit Hospitals" In. Weisbrod, Ed. *To Profit or Not to Profit*. p. 166.
- ³⁰ Goodspeed, Linda. 2000. "Critical Condition: Budget Cuts, Pressures of Jobs Bears Brunt of Nursing Shortage." *Boston Business Journal*. March 13.
- ³¹ Per Hoover's company profile of the organization: "The fleet became an armada after the merger of New England's two largest banks. The progeny of Fleet Financial and BankBoston, FleetBoston Financial is the US's #7 bank, operating some 1,600 branches (about 300 of which are being divested) in the Northeast. The bank provides asset management, insurance, investment banking, and mortgage banking as well as retail services such as checking, savings, loans, and credit cards. FleetBoston has significant student and mortgage loan operations, and offices in about 20 countries with a strong presence in Latin America."
- ³² Interview with Joanne Pokaski, Morgan Memorial Goodwill Industries. 2000.
- ³³ "Waiting to Exhale" conference (insert date, name of speaker)
- ³⁴ It is interesting to note that Catholic Charities, while it is the largest nonprofit service provider in the Boston Area in terms of revenues and number of clients served, has not yet become a key player in the job training services cluster of organizations. They have become a service provider for home health care, and, along with Brandeis University, were involved early in efforts to evaluate impacts of Welfare-to-Work on low-income individuals, however.
- ³⁵ Panel discussion (date) "Welfare-to-Work: Waiting to Exhale" February, 2000.
- ³⁶ Apparently, the name of the organization has been somewhat problematic, however, in terms of marketing services in Dorchester neighborhoods (primarily non-Jewish native-born African American).
- ³⁷ An agglomeration of particularly impoverished neighborhoods in Boston that received HUD designation and massive targeted funding as an Empowerment Community in 1995, then as an Empowerment Zone in 1999.
- ³⁸ According to an interview with MASSFESS Director Janet McGill. I was unable to access planning documents themselves in time for this paper.

³⁹ Lassen, Mary and Sum, Andrew. 1999. "Building a Stronger 'Ladder of Opportunity' for Poor Families." *The Boston Sunday Globe*. August 22.

⁴⁰ Jacoby, Sanford. 1997. *Modern Manors: Welfare Capitalism Since the New Deal*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Jacoby develops an argument around the persistence of welfare capitalist models in the American system.

⁴¹ The President and COO of MGH, James J. Mongan, is also on the Board of Directors of the Private Industry Council.

⁴² Generally, refugees and immigrants being a favored source of employees.

⁴³ Marriott Hotels. 2000. "Pathways to Independence: A Training for Jobs Program by Marriott." Pamphlet.

⁴⁴ Marriott Hotels. 2000. "Pathways to Independence: Enhancing Self-Sufficiency through Employment Opportunities" Pamphlet.

⁴⁵ It is interesting to note that this is not the only area in which Marriott hotels have ventured into combined public and private sector functions; the corporation has also recently begun to operate residential communities for the elderly, developing a specialization in Alzheimer's care: "In addition to Independent Full Service communities, Marriott is rapidly developing three district Assisted Living concepts nationwide. Brighton Gardens, the leader in providing quality assisted living, is distinguished by an award winning design and continuum of care. Village Oaks offers a more moderately priced assisted living alternative while maintaining Marriott's high standards of care, and Hearthsides which are one-story residences offering assisted living and care for residents with Alzheimer's disease and other related memory disorders."

⁴⁶ Marriott Hotels. "Employment Opportunities." Online Available:
<http://marriotthotels.com/news/employment.asp>. March 30, 2000.